

CHAPTER

KARL DOENITZ

ERICH RAEDER

Of the two naval commanders, both of whom were given prison sentences, Karl Doenitz is easily the more remarkable. Doenitz was born on the 16th of September, 1891, and his entire life had been lived near and on the North Sea. He joined the Navy in 1910 and, during the First World War, was captured by the British. In prison he feigned insanity but unsuccessfully. He explained to me: "After all, I was only a youngster. I knew nothing of insanity or how to feign it. Two companions and I decided it might aid our efforts to escape if we were adjudged insane. We decided we should imitate submarines. We walked about, our heads hunched down going bzzzz, bzzzz and insisting we were U-boats. The British doctors were too smart for us. We didn't get anywhere. Solitary confinement ^{cured} ~~changed~~ our "mental state" in no time."

Repatriated in 1919, Doenitz continued in the Navy, becoming eventually the commander of the destroyer flotilla. He became commander of ^a ~~the~~ cruisers and, finally, Supreme Officer in Charge of the U-Boat Flotilla. In this position he spent much of his time at sea and, even during the war, apparently had little to do with German politics until he was called by Hitler in 1943 to succeed Raeder as Commander of the German Navy.

Highly intelligent, well-informed, Doenitz was also a friendly type of personality and one possessing an excellent sense of humor. He consistently denied any responsibility as a war criminal, contending that he acted only as a naval officer and that his Nazi

affiliations were slight. There is little doubt, however, that he had been a real admirer of Hitler. There is equally little doubt that he was honestly shocked by revelations of the brutality of Hitler employed.

Apparently Hitler, in dealing with simple, direct men like Doenitz, demonstrated a ~~marvelous~~ ability to be himself, to all appearances, a bluff, straightforward person concerned only with naval affairs. Doenitz was highly impressed by Hitler's brilliance as an organizer, ^{and} his superior memory and knowledge of naval affairs.

It would seem that Hitler, realizing that Doenitz was essentially an honest and ethical person, did not involve him in the duplicity and scheming which marked his relations with other subordinates. In return, although not a member of the Party, Doenitz was fanatical in developing Nazi ideals in the German Navy.

A part of this firm admiration for Hitler is probably attributable to the fact that through ^{Hitler} the Navy, Doenitz's true love, was rebuilt and Germany again became a world power. No doubt Hitler recognized Doenitz's high regard for him and counted on Doenitz to take his side when he quarreled with Raeder over the value of capital ships. Hitler considered battleships obsolete, Raeder insisted on their value. When Doenitz was called in to replace Raeder, he confounded Hitler by maintaining Raeder's point as to the value of large capital ships.

Doenitz had little opportunity ~~in~~ in the few years he was commander of the Navy to encounter Hitler frequently and he

apparently was sincere in his simple belief that Hitler was a kind, straightforward gentleman. He learned more about Hitler in jail and, in the end, he concluded that his appointment was Hitler's successor as due to the fact that "all other successors were either dead or in disgrace and ^{he} was the only honest man left in Germany."

This was partly true, at any rate, for Doenitz was the only leader for whom the Luftwaffe, the Army and the Navy had respect. My checking confirmed for me that Doenitz was right when he told me: "After all, I was the only leader left alive who was not under arrest or under orders of death. Of course the Army leaders were still active but neither the Navy nor the Luftwaffe would pay any attention to them. Consequently, I was picked simply because it was felt I could most easily bring about peace. This I did as fast as possible, and now as Hitler's successor the Americans want to hang me. This seems to be an example of Yankee humor."

Doenitz got along quite well in ~~the~~ Nuremberg Jail by his use of such wry, ~~humorous~~ everything, the seatless toilet, K-rations, even an occasional bad night's sleep, was twisted into some sort of joke. He was not in such a humorous mood, however, following the demonstration of the Nazi atrocities. He seemed truly amazed that such murders as he saw in the movie could have been perpetrated.

At the start of the trial, Doenitz had been fully convinced that the court would never convict him but, as it progressed, he lost hope. Most interesting to me was the change in his attitude toward his erstwhile hero, Adolf Hitler. In one of my last talks with him, he made the cynical comment: "All I can say is that Hitler must have had two sides to his character and he was clever enough to

conceal the other side from decent people."

Doenitz took prison life well, employing much of his time improving his English by reading both prose and poetry. He was of keen intelligence, definitely above average, and in addition had excellent constructive, imaginative and creative ability.

He felt toward the end of my acquaintance with him that the German people were led to destruction by Hitler and for a long time he hoped that he would be acquitted so that he might play some part in their redevelopment. More of a gentleman, and much smarter, than most of the prisoners, he relied on his intelligence and speaking ability to meet a situation rather than on the cold formality of the other military men.

It is my opinion that Hitler used good judgment in selecting Doenitz as his successor as he is undoubtedly a leader of great stature and a most competent man. In prison, naturally, Doenitz felt that his appointment was a dubious compliment and he was bitter in pointing out that his seven days of fuhrership netted him nothing except an opportunity to hang with the other German criminals--a situation not humorous even to Doenitz.

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Doenitz's assumption that, except for the accident of his succession to Hitler, he would not have been brought to trial was quite obviously false. As commander of the Navy, he would almost certainly have had a chair in the dock, as did his predecessor, ~~Erish~~ Grand Admiral Erich Raeder.

Raeder was born on the 24th of April, 1876, near Hamburg. His home life was spartan and unhappy. In his boyhood he decided to

study for a military doctor's degree. But he abandoned that ambition and enlisted as a naval cadet in 1894.

Raeder prided himself on his physical and intellectual ruggedness, which he attributed to his early training. "As a cadet," he once said, "I noticed the development of an inner firmness and I became hard, even against myself.

As a junior naval officer, Raeder edited several naval papers and, during the First World War, acted as commander of a light cruiser. He also held the position during this time of Chief of Staff of the Reconnaissance Forces. In 1928, he became a full admiral and, in 1935, commander of the Navy.

Raeder had little early connection with the Nazi Party, but, when Hitler came into office in 1933, they soon became friendly, and Raeder sold Hitler on the idea of a strong naval organization, particularly the pocket battleship.

Personally, Raeder is a quiet little man, cold and hard with very little to say. Intellectually he is merely good average, not even approaching Doenitz in brilliancy. He is fussy in nature and aloof, maintaining a wall of formal coldness against any conversational overtures of an intimate nature, though he willingly answered any direct questions.

Neither of the naval officers represent the classical Prussian pattern demonstrated by the Army leaders. Both Doenitz and Raeder are typical naval leaders, skillful in their own techniques and embroiled in politics primarily as a method of developing their own branch of service.

Raeder, however, was much more intimate with Hitler than was

111
Doenitz. I have no doubt but that Raeder deliberately entered the political field to build up the Navy--and himself as well--whereas Doenitz actually was a more firm believer in Nazi principles. for the Navy;
Raeder was a schemer who planned to use Hitler. Doenitz was a disciple who wanted to serve Hitler with the Navy.

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CHAPTER

ERNST KALTENBRUNNER

After the Czechs disposed of the Hangman Heidrich, Ernst Kaltenbrunner acted as Hitler's hatchet man ^{and chief of the Gestapo}. Born on the 4th of October, 1903, in Upper Austria, he attended law school and is one of the few top Nazis who was not in the First World War, being barely 15 at the time of the Armistice.

Thereafter, as a relatively impoverished student, he did odd jobs and studied without much direction for years until he finally took up law at the urging of his father. He won his degree as Doctor of Jurisprudence in 1926.

Kaltenbrunner the lawyer was not outstanding and, in 1928, still apparently a lost soul of the "lost generation," he entered politics, eventually becoming an under-secretary in the Austrian government.

Though he had been interested in the illegal Austrian Nazi Party, Kaltenbrunner did not join until 1933 when Hitler took over Germany. Not until 1939, when the party was legalized in Austria, did he become openly a Nazi. There you have the behavior of a timid man--a great, hulking, tough looking murderer who was at heart a shivering coward.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

A huge individual, well over six feet, with large bones and gross features marred by scars, he is a typical bully, tough and arrogant when in power, a cheap craven in defeat unable even to stand the pressures of prison life.

After he had been in jail about six months and just shortly

before the trial was to begin, Kaltenbrunner became extremely depressed. I visited him in his cell. Almost every time he broke down and cried. He was frightened and wanted to be comforted. He was sure he would not receive a fair trial. It was a true case of the crybaby who is convinced that "Everybody picks on me." All the toughness had melted away. The hardness of character which marked him as an executioner had been replaced by this soft, sobbing personality who eagerly sought reassurance as to his future.

On the 17th of November, 1945, Kaltenbrunner developed a spontaneous subarachoid hemorrhage. This condition results from the rupture of a tiny blood vessel located in the membrane covering the brain. It does not result in a stroke or paralysis such as occurs when the bleeding is directly into the brain substance. In a subarachoid hemorrhage, the bleeding is into the spinal canal and the fluid areas surrounding the brain.

Such illnesses may be fatal but in Kaltenbrunner's case he suffered only severe headaches and inability to get about. He was hospitalized for a considerable period and eventually returned to the trial. After several days, however, he had a secondary hemorrhage which required further hospitalization. These hemorrhages are spontaneous and cannot be predicted or prevented. It is possible, however, that his fear of standing trial, his increased tension and agitation, causing blood pressure rises, were partially responsible.

In court Kaltenbrunner maintained what was for him a good, unemotional front. Psychologically, he is a fairly simple soul--harsh and ruthless when on top, sobbing for mercy when the situation is reversed.

Even the thin scars that criss-crossed his heavy features were not the marks of courage they seemed. Instead of being dueling scars acquired in the University, which they were often mistaken for, ~~Kaltenbrunner's~~ scars were received when his face crashed through a car window in a prosaic auto accident.

Of far more interest than Kaltenbrunner, the auslander, was his chief, Heinrich Himmler, the school teacher, the sadist, who taught Kaltenbrunner the technique of terror and the refinements of torture. Himmler, who had the fortitude and skill to suicide when the British caught him.

Himmler was a man of boundless ambition. His mousey, teacherish front masked hunger for power and scorn for his fellows, and he joined the Party to develop political opportunities for Heinrich Himmler.

Intellectually a dilettante, Himmler was one of those men who know a little bit about a great deal. He fancied himself an expert in race problems, and it was he who developed the theory of trans-plantation of populations. He did a bit of digging in some of the old German mounds, unearthing occasional arrowheads which he treasured. Schirach told me that he carried these souvenirs with him, showing them at every opportunity and emphasizing his skill as an archeologist.

Though he posed as an anthropologist, Himmler apparently swallowed whole--if undigested--the racial doctrines of Rosenberg. He ordered that no man could become a full-fledged member of his SS unless he could prove his family pure Aryan as far back as 1800. Officers had to prove the line pure back another fifty years.

insert page precedes para "It would require no..."

Hitler sent out orders throughout all the conquered regions instructing his underlings to restore to Germany estrayed German blood, which they were to recognize by the blue-eyed-blond test. The orders applied only to children. In the Ukraine, for example, an order was published instructing that all blond, blue-eyed children--since they were obviously of German origin--were to be given adequate rations to keep them alive so they might be returned to the Reich. All other children, as obviously non-German in origin, were to be allowed to die.

It would require no scholarly monograph to establish that Himmler knew next to nothing about the problems of mass migration, and probably archeology, and certainly genetics. What he did know--and well--was how to obtain, hold and abuse power. He was probably responsible, directly, for more abuse of the police power than has ever been realized.

Emotionally Himmler seems to have been a withdrawn sort of individual, who kept up an unpretentious front. He was that--but that was not all. For Himmler's private life represented the ultimate in duplicity. Even in his marital relationships he was not merely two-faced. Schirach, Kaltenbrunner and others assured me that this puerile-looking, nearsighted man maintained a wife and perhaps as many as 1000 mistresses in homes suitable to their station.

In official intercourse with other Hitler henchmen, he was a placid, unimpressive person. Among his subordinates, to the prisoners in his power, he was an arrogant, sadistic, heartless killer. This vicious reputation, brought to Americanby refugees from his "justice," apparently had not caught up with Himmler at home. In Germany he was almost unbelievably successful in hiding this phase of his personality. Even his ex-collaguats at Nuremberg were, beyond question, dumfounded by the extent of his atrocities and crimes against humanity.

That is not true of all the Nuremberg Nazis--Kaltenbrunner, for instance, knew well what his master's tricks were--but it is true for most. Not that they were unaware that he was guilty of atrocities, but even those who had guilty knowledge or were themselves guilty in part, never knew what black crimes

111
Himmler had charged to the account of all Germany. I say, that as a psychiatrist and x psychologist who employed sound observational techniques, that all but a very few of the men on trial were surprised by the ruthlessness, the sadism, the fiendishness that prosecution testimony attributed to Himmler.

PART FIVE
THE RABBLE ROUSERS

For the average German, the Nazi appeal was emotional. Nazism merely refurbished old folk concepts, themselves the outgrowth of emotional rather than cortical evaluations of German and Jew, of friend and foe, of Fatherland, race, soil and the godhead.

Hitler had need of the average German's support, even adulation. In a modern world where men can read and hear radio broadcasts, a minority can rule only so long as it retains--by whatever methods--the backing of the multitude, thoughtless and Fritzsche did their

To assure Nazism of that backing, Goebbels ~~staked~~ part in directing all that was written or spoken on the radio; Himmler and Kaltenbrunner subdued, often by killing, the few who denied the Hitlerian theses; but there remained a further duty which neither of these formal ministris performed--propaganda, not by authentic-sounding falsehoods or by fear, but by arousing the deep, unreasoned emotions of the masses.

The masters of this appeal were two relatively stupid, virile men, Julius Streicher and Robert Ley, two of the staunchest of Hitler's adherents--and the least admired by their colleagues. Though their talents were primarily vocal, Hitler rewarded both of them with positions far beyond their abilities. In spite of exalted positions, however, they ^{were} ~~remained rabble rousers to the end~~, ever ready to mount soap boxes whenever Hitler's plans required a rekindling of mob spirit. In spite of defeat, imprisonment, the revulsion of humanity and even the scorn of their jailmates, they remained rabble rousers to the end.

CHAPTER
JULIUS STREICHER

To see Julius Streicher lounging on his cot, a bald, paunchy, loose-skinned man, ~~in cast-off~~ ^{in cast-} GI work clothes, one would have found it hard to believe that this creature had once held thousands of "sensible" Germans spellbound. I spent much time with Streicher, not because he was an entertaining conversationalist, but because he was a prime example of the man who lives, and succeeds, by emotion almost alone.

Short, stocky, fiery tempered, Streicher was a Bavarian. Born in 1885, he prepared to follow the career of his family, school teaching and, before the First World War, taught in the elementary schools in Nuremberg. He served as an officer during the war and, on his return, formed an organization of other officers whose mutual interest was anti-Semitism. When I inquired how war service has inspired a hatred of Jews, he assured me that, even before the war, he had found his life work.

At that time, he said, he had participated as a speaker in a Democratic Youth organization which had frequent dealings with young Jewish lawyers. "I was told at that time," he said, "that I must be very careful what I said, because the Jews have great power and will be dangerous to us."

"I did not quite understand this remark at the time, but after the War, I saw that the Jews were everywhere in Germany, ~~esp~~ especially in Marxian parties and that they had started their international instigational speeches. I saw how Jews suddenly appeared as important members of the Government and its agencies. I

witnessed how they praised treason as heroism in their controlled press, and how they pictured a mockery of Christ. They demanded in public discussions even such things as the abolishing of the law which called for punishment for abortion.

"After having seen and experienced all this and even more, I, the German, realized the danger and the constant threat of the Jews and I joined the movement of those men ^{who} ~~that~~ had recognized the Jewish danger and began to fight it."

Streicher's anti-Semitism can only be described as fanatic. Medically it represents a true paranoid reaction. That is, Streicher has a systematized series of beliefs which superficially seemed logical, but which were founded purely on his own emotions and prejudices and not on known facts. This system he elaborated and continued for so long that he actually and firmly believed it.

In my talks with Streicher I found it impossible to carry on a conversation for more than a few minutes without his veering off into a discussion of the "Jewish problem." He worried constantly about the Jewish conspiracy. Twenty-four hours a day, his every thought, his every action bore some reference to his beliefs.

In other matters he was essentially rational, although his intelligence was only low-average. The standards of his notorious newspaper, Der Stürmer, were of course even lower. He was an indifferent water colorist, an ardent--possibly a good--farmer. His speech was blunt, tactless and at times uncouth. His body was rugged and he took great pride in his strength and sexual vigor. He boastfully admitted that he had been a famous fornicator

and, even at the age of sixty-one, contended that the only true test of his physical health would be to make a woman available to him.

Of unclean mind, Streicher was personally cleanly, even tidy, and spartan in the care of his body. To the amazement of the American soldier guards, he got up regularly at 6 a.m., went through a period of rigorous calisthenics, then doused himself with a bucket of cold water even in ~~the middle of the~~ ^{mid} winter.

^{he} Though ~~he~~ devoted his time to reading and writing, the only books in which he had interest were those which deal ~~with~~ ^{the} the Jewish problem or which ^a gave him material for discussion in the light of his own familiarity with the subject. And, from his point of view, anything by or about a Jew or Jews ^{was} ~~is~~ evidence against Jewry. For months before and during the trial he was engaged in an analysis of the Bible, determined to demonstrate that even in their own writings the Jewish people have condemned themselves.

I questioned him about his notorious collection of pornography --one of the most-publicized such collections in the world. He seemed not at all abashed to be known as a collector of obscenity but maintained that his entire library had come from Jewish sources. In bland explanation, he said, "I studied it only to demonstrate the type of literature these people read."

Apparently he indulged in this type of research most diligently for he seemed to know ^{whole} books by heart. The enthusiasm with which he described these volumes led me to suspect more than interest in their alleged source.

It is, of course, true that many of Streicher's books have

been stolen from Jews. Ironically these thefts may prove to be the only good Streicher was ever guilty of. Whenever a synagogue was desecrated or a rabbi thrown out of his home and Streicher learned of it in time, he had brought to him all the salvaged books and papers which would otherwise have been burned. From them he selected the rarest manuscripts and finest volumes, and compiled ⁱⁿ Der Stuermer's library a magnificent collection of Jewish works.

As a result, though he was as an instigator responsible for the destruction of great quantities of Jewish literature, Julius Streicher who reveled in the title of Jew Baiter No. 1 has preserved for posterity a large share of the worthwhile literature of the German Jews.

Streicher did not confine himself to publishing his own libels on the Jews. One of the most odious of books printed by Der Stuermer Press is The Poisonous Mushroom, a book of fables for young and old, by Ernst Heimer. In it, on page six, a teacher is addressing his class:

"It is almost noon, he said, 'now we want to summarize what we have learned in this lesson. What did we discuss?'

"All the children raised their hands. The teacher calls on Karl Scholz, a little boy in the first bench. 'We talked about how to recognize a Jew.'

"Good! Now tell us about it.'

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"Little Karl takes the pointer, goes to the blackboard, and points to the sketches.

"One usually recognizes a Jew by his nose. The Jewish nose is crooked at the end. It looks like the figure 6. Therefore, it is called the ^WJewish Six". Many non-Jews have crooked noses, too. But their noses are bent, not at the end but further up. Such a nose is called a hook nose or eagle's beak. It has nothing to do with a Jewish nose."

"Right!" says the teacher. "But the Jew is recognized not only by his nose..." The boy continues, "The Jew is also recognized by his lips. His lips are usually thick. Often the lower lip hangs down. That is called "sloppy" ^W/ And the Jew is also recognized by his eyes. His eyelids are usually thicker and more fleshy than ours. The look of the Jew is lurking and sharp." ^W.....

On page 9 - "Then the teacher goes to the desk and turns over the blackboard; on its back is a verse. The children recite it in chorus:

"From a Jew's countenance ^W/ the evil talks to us,
The devil, who in every land ^W/ is known as evil
plague.
If we shall be free of the Jew ^W/ and again will
be happy and glad,
Then the youth must struggle with us ^W/ to subdue
the Jew devil."

Streicher himself ^{firmly} ~~fanatically~~ believed that one
could tell a Jew by his ^{appearance, and even by his odor.} ~~physical characteristics~~

He couldn't, of course. One of my top interpreters was a German refugee who had escaped from Germany in 1939. Like many other German Jews, he was typically "Nordic" in appearance--blond hair, blue eyes, slender athletic body.

One day Streicher gave me some notes on the Jewish question. He warned me to have them translated by "an intelligent Aryan, because a Jew would falsify the translation." He then handed the notes past me to my Jewish interpreter saying, "Here--you do the translating. You're a good German." So much for infallibility!

In the same book, beginning on page 32, there is another example of Streicherian propaganda:

"Inge sits in the reception room of the Jew doctor. She has to wait a long time and starts to look through the journals on the table; but she is much too nervous to read even a few sentences. Again and again she remembers the talk with her mother. And again and again her mind reflects on the warnings of her leader of the BDM ((League of German Girls))--'A German must not consult a Jew

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doctor! And particularly not a German girl! Many a girl that went to a Jew doctor to be cured, found disease and disgrace!"

"When Inge had entered the waiting room, she experienced an extraordinary incident. From the doctor's consulting room she could hear the sound of crying. She heard the voice of a young girl, "Doctor, doctor leave me alone!"

"Then she heard the scornful laughing of a man. And then all of a sudden it became absolutely silent. Inge had listened breathlessly.

"What may be the meaning of all this?", she asked herself and her heart was pounding. And again she thought of the warning of her leader in the B.D.M.

now had been
"Inge was ~~already~~ waiting for an hour. Again she takes the journals in an endeavor to read. Then the door opens. Inge looks up. The Jew appears. She screams. In terror she drops the paper. Frightened she jumps up. Her eyes stare into the face of the Jewish doctor. And this face is the face of the devil. In the middle of this devil's face is a huge crooked nose. Behind the spectacles, two criminal eyes. And the thick lips are grinning. A grinning that expresses, "Now I got you at last, you little German girl!"

"And then the Jew approaches her. His fleshy fingers stretch out after her. But now Inge has her

wits. Before the Jew can grab hold of her, she hits the fat face of the Jew doctor with her hand. Then one jump to the door. Breathlessly Inge runs down the stairs. Breathlessly she escapes the Jew house."

This is a typical attack on the Jewish intellectual and professional group. It is crude, childish propaganda typical of the Streicher approach.

Also typical--but this time of German toadying and of the egoism of the major Nazis--is the technique employed by Heimer: apparently to assure his book of a publisher. Starting on page sixty-one is this thick slice of blatant flattery:

"The pimpf ((Hitler boy between 18 and fourteen)) so far has not said anything. Suddenly he stops. Then he grapps his two friends by the arms and pulls them away. They stop in front of a billboard. They read a large poster. It says:

JULIUS STREICHER
MAKES AN ADDRESS IN THE PEOPLE'S HALL
ABOUT
"THE JEWS ARE OUR MISFORTUNE"

"That is where we go!" shouts Konrad. 'I have wanted to hear him speak for a long time.' 'I heard him once, at a meeting two years ago,' said Erich. 'Do tell us all about it!' the two pimpfs beg. The Hitler youth recounts:

"The meeting was overcrowded. Many thousands of people attended. To begin with Streicher talked of his experiences in the years of struggle, and of the tremendous achievements of the Hitler Reich. Then he began to talk about the Jewish question. All he said was so clear and simple that even we boys could follow it. Again and again he told examples taken from life.

"At one time he talked most amusingly and cracked jokes, making all of us laugh. Then again he became most serious, and it was so quiet in the hall that one could hear a needle drop. He talked of the Jews and their horrible crimes. He talked of the serious danger which Judaism is for the whole world. "Without a solution of the Jewish question there will be no salvation of mankind." That is what he shouted to us.

"All of us could understand him. And when, at the end, he shouted the "Sieg Heil for the Fuehrer, we all acclaimed him with tremendous enthusiasm. For two hours Streicher spoke on that occasion. To us it appeared to have been but a few minutes."

In his public life this bellowing beast, whose appeal seldom rose above the belly and never so high as the cortex, was Gauleiter of Franconia. He was notoriously tyrannical and he led what even the Nazis considered a loose life. It was partly, perhaps, because of his reputation for drabbing; partly, no doubt, because of the bad odor of his pornographic library and, certainly, ^{in part} because Hermann Goering rankled at Streicher's charge that he had not fathered his own child--all this and the fact that his colleagues disliked him. In 1939, Streicher was expelled from the Party.

Banished to his farm at Pleikershof, near Nuremberg, he went into retirement with his thirty-five-year-old secretary whom he finally married shortly before his arrest. His life on the farm was indicative of his personality. He built an expensive series of three barns, formed like a U, stocked them with the finest cattle and pigs and then, for himself, built a small apartment on

the second floor, directly over the pigpen.

Even Streicher's murderous jailmates were repulsed by the grossness of his moral fiber. When he was brought into the American prison at Luxemburg before the removal to Nuremberg, they tried to refuse to eat with him. A formal delegation, headed by Doenitz, requested that at least they be treated as gentlemen and not be required to eat at the same table with Julius Streicher. The request was rejected, the American authorities pointing out that they were all in the same boat and all would have to mess together.

Streicher's former associates, however, maintained their aloofness, and the only person who would talk with at all during this period of imprisonment was his bosom companion, the deteriorated Robert Ley. Streicher, for his part, defensively insisted that the scornful majority were below him. He suggested that they had guilty consciences whereas he had done nothing to be ashamed of and was, in fact, an admirable fellow who had sought only to rebuild Germany.

Streicher's carpentry was vocal, but forceful. Intellectually shildish, he gained his ends by violent tirades in Der Stuermer and by long haranguing speeches. It was during the course of one of these speeches that he first met Hitler who impressed him greatly--not because of what Hitler said, but how long he took to say it. It seems that Hitler was the only person Streicher ever met who could talk longer than he. That truly was something; Streicher's speeches used to last two hours and sometimes three.

Streicher's infantile intellect and wild ranting led him into

A second touch of irony in the obituary of Streicher, the preserver of Jewish literature, is one which he enjoyed richly. The fortune of Streicher, the anti-Semitic publisher, was made for him by Jews. Particularly in the early days of Der Stuermer, when Streicher published a juicy anti-Jewish libel he knew that every available copy of it would be bought up by Jews in order to prevent its general circulation. Having discovered this, Streicher thereafter made his articles as nasty as possible in order to spur Jewish buyers. Such Jewish "support" put him on the way to riches and power he boasted.

Although he participated actively in stimulating the pogroms of the Nazis, Streicher denied taking part in them. He was proud of having been the firebrand that touched off the conflagration, but insisted that he was quite innocent. "I do not actually hate the Jewish people personally," Streicher once swore to me. "My struggle against them was born of deep understanding."

From a study of his speeches and his writings, I gathered that his "understanding" was barely superficial, but even superficial knowledge probably seemed deep to the thick-headed Streicher. True to his fanstical belief, he attributed all of the misfortunes of the war to the "International Jews" and he was firmly convinced that the Nuremberg trials were simply being staged as a result of pressure brought about by the "Jewish press."

"Naturally," he said to me when the trial was well along, "I expect to be found guilty but I am glad that the court at least pretends to be fair because I may have a chance to testify and reveal to the world the true structure of the International Jew and to warn the world of this outstanding menace."

In another interview he enlarged on the theme ~~that~~ that was being sacrificed. "The entire history of the world has proven," he orated, "that the bearers of truth and understanding are always a minority. I am one of that small group. The knowledge of the inner belonging among the pioneers of the truth gives me strength to survive all hardships of these trying times."

was indeed
It ~~is~~ fortunate for Julius Streicher that he possessed that "inner strength" since, because of his violent, irrational and obscene beliefs, he stood essentially alone in the world.

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CHAPTER

ROBERT LEY

Dr. Robert Ley, Reichsleiter and chief of the German Labor Front, was the only member of Hitler's group who demonstrated actual organic brain disease. A most unprepossessing character in his salvaged GI fatigues, he was as irrational and vocal as Streicher whom he also resembled in being short, stocky, bald and paunchy. One of the most ardent of Hitler's early followers, he achieved power not because he was qualified to exercise it but simply as a reward for his ability to rouse mob spirit with his tongue.

Ley had been the seventh of eleven children of a small farmer. His childhood was hard, his youth unhappy but, despite his poverty, he managed to make his way through elementary and high school and, finally, the University. As a student he worked at tutoring and odd jobs and he had just reached the point of qualifying for his degree of Doctor in Chemistry when the First World War broke out.

Ley volunteered and, as he put it, "participated in the war from the 6th of August, 1914, until January, 1920." He enlisted in the Air Force, as a private, was promoted to a lieutenancy/ was decorated and was wounded three times. On the 29th of July, 1917, while acting as a flight officer, he was shot down near Arras. His pilot was killed and he received severe burns and a head injury. He was unconscious for several hours and unable to speak for nearly a week. After this injury he developed the stammering which characterized his speech for the rest of his life. He was captured

at this time and held a prisoner by the French until more than a year after the end of the war--which explains the post-Armistice date on his record.

He returned to Germany early in 1920 and received his Doctor's degree, Magna Cum Laude. He then became an assistant at the University of Westphalia and shortly afterward was married. He soon entered politics, becoming a National Socialist in 1924. Leaving the University, he became a chemist with I.G. Farben but soon quit that post "because of political differences with my superiors." Thereafter he devoted full time to politics.

In the early days of the Nazi movement, Ley apparently worked very hard. "My duty was to speak for the Fuehrer at times and places where he could not be," he told me. I gave a great many long, vigorous political speeches, sometimes as often as one a day." He apparently had a strong inner drive which forced him into his work. As he explained it: "It was fate. An inner voice drove me forward like hunted game. Though my mind told me differently and my wife and family repeatedly told me to stop my activities and return to a civil and normal life, the voice inside me commanded, 'You must; you must,' and I obeyed that irresistible force, fate. Call it mystic; call it God."

Ley obviously had long been an unstable type of personality. The deterioration of his brain was not due to syphilis or other communicable diseases, but rather seems to be a spontaneous degeneration, possibly accelerated by alcohol, and perhaps influenced by his old head injury. At any rate, throughout his official career, we can see evidence of his instability in his every move.

His family life was irregular. He divorced his first wife, his second committed suicide in 1942. From 1943 on Ley lived with a young Estonian girl but did not marry her, possibly because Hitler disapproved such a match.

Ley was ^{totally} unable to carry on a coherent conversation. He turned every topic into a ranting speech. In this he undoubtedly resembled Hitler. Often when I talked with him in his cell, he would begin an ordinary conversation and, as he became interested, he would stand, then pace the floor, throw out his arms, gesticulate more and more violently and begin to shout.

His memory seemed quite good except for recent occurrences, and intellectually he did not seem to be much impaired. The most important thing medically was his striking lack of judgment, a --with marked emotional instability-- reaction which/occurs most frequently following injury or deterioration of the frontal lobes of the brain. From such medical and psychological evidence, particularly the Rorschach Ink Blot Test, I diagnosed actual physiological degeneration of his frontal lobes. Time was to prove the diagnosis right. Without doubt, Robert Ley's inability to control his emotions and his colossally bad judgment were due to this actual brain damage.

As with a few of the other Nazis, I was fortunate in the case of Ley in being able to obtain the opinion of his secretary. She was the youngest of the corps of Nazi bigwig secretaries, and the prettiest, but not the most intelligent. Nonetheless, her comments are enlightening:

"Only a man like Ley who is idealistic and optimistic anyway and who always saw the world through rose-colored glasses, who was always drunk and who, therefore, always saw people better

than they really were, was the right man for the organization of the German Workers' Front.

"Hitler had little knowledge of men. In this case, however, he had picked the absolutely right man. The fact that the position of a labor leader was always a point of attack was emphasized because Ley, himself, was no diplomat and seldom behaved himself in a diplomatic manner."

If we add this to our knowledge that Ley had actual impairment of judgment, we get the picture of a dynamic, outspoken, uninhibited rabble rouser. There is little doubt that Hitler used Ley well. Through him Hitler was able to stir up labor to work for the Greater German Reich, and it is certain that Ley painted impossibly rosy pictures of the future to seduce the German working men.

His secretary puts it this way:

"He was rich in ideas. As a matter of fact, he was somewhat fantastic at times. He had impossible and often impractical ideas and plans for the expansion of the German workers' incomes. For instance, he wanted to form a gigantic fleet of 100 pleasure ships for the German workers. He sought to relieve the housing shortage by the leasing of gigantic building projects and the setting up of huge labor pools. He wanted to improve the old-age pension system and guarantee each worker a minimum of ninety marks a month.

"At times, in fact, he promised all these things and more in his speeches. The reason these promises were not known is that the Propaganda Ministry always wrote Dr. Ley's speeches, or rather wrote a Goebbels' version of the speech for distribution to the

press. In this way hundreds of thousands--even millions--of workmen heard Dr. Ley in his own words promise them automobiles, vacation tours, beautiful new homes and much more besides, but the Party rank and file, the outsiders, the nonworkingmen never heard of these shining promises. Then, when the promises were not fulfilled, Ley had only to make another spellbinding speech, with new promises, and the workers were happy again.

"We who call ourselves Ley's co-workers considered him a fanatic. He loved children and animals and exaggerated this love like everything else. He lived in a world removed from reality. He had little knowledge of the everyday things of life, particularly the war, and did not want to know anything about it either. When he heard about it, he would not believe it. For instance, when he was told about the bad mood of the German people as the result of the constant bombings, he refused to believe it."

This sort of thing, with his unshakable belief in Hitler's wisdom and his unalterable conviction of a German victory, establish Ley's reactions as definitely abnormal. He revered Hitler as a God-like man. As a matter of little-known fact, Ley wrote a book so blatantly eulogizing Hitler that even the Fuehrer was embarrassed. Hitler had the entire publication destroyed with the exception of a single copy which he is supposed to have kept in his personal library.

Ley appeared to his associates, who did not know that the inhibitory centers of his brain had ceased to function--that he quite literally had no judgment but only spontaneous emotional responses--as a vital, tough, excitable, intellectually gifted individual. He was generally disliked. H

was generally disliked. His tendency to express his opinions frankly and directly made him a social outcast. But, by virtue of his affliction, perhaps, he never bore grudges or engaged in the intrigues so common in the Nazi Party.

These reactions of Robert Ley are for the most part direct manifestations of the imperfect functioning of his brain. His bluntness and lack of tact, his lack of concern for the opinions of others, his uninhibited reaction to a situation and subsequent dismissal of the unpleasant, his totally bad judgment, are all typical finds in individuals suffering frontal lobe damage or excision.

I asked him to prepare for me a short exposition of his ideas on the rehabilitation of Germany and he responded with the following document--title and all. I am including it here because it demonstrates better than any medical account his inability to stick to one subject and his tendency to turn a discussion on any subject into a speech to the German people.

"LIFE OR FAME?"

"A Political Analysis"

"Karl Hauptmann asks this question at the end of his dramatical work, "Napoleon Bonaparte". Life or Fame? I believe that this problem should not be expressed as an antithesis, but as a completed whole. For the individual, Fame can have the highest value; for a people, Life definitely occupies this position, and the fame of an individual consists of insuring this Life under all possible circumstances.

"Hitler's fame is unassailable. He crowned his great work and his famous deeds with the supreme sacrifice. He fought right up to the entrance to his shelter, and there, as the last one, he fell -- faithful unto death. The highest fame belongs to him, and he will appear to posterity as the shining hero of this period, even though life continues its hum-drum course, a fact which I could not grasp at first. The sun comes up at the scheduled time each morning and sets again in the evening, just as if no Hitler had ever lived; the earth continues to turn, and humanity lives and continues its daily tasks. Nothing stands still; everything moves and Life demands its rights without hindrance.

"And Germany must live on and wishes to live. This people has a right to live, for through its singular development of strength, which enabled it to withstand three world powers for six and a half years, it has proved that its defeat is not due to weakness or disease, but to the overwhelming power of its opponents. Germany need not be ashamed of its defeat. She must, however, recognize this defeat unconditionally and draw the correct conclusions from it. And the former opponents should do the same. Germany is defeated, totally defeated, but even in its defeat it has displayed such a strength

that it must be in the interest of Germany and of the world to retain this strength and to render it useful. Germany wishes to live and must live. And it is now the task of all of us to find the ways and means to achieve the maximum possibilities out of its living.

"While the end of the war leaves many problems unsolved -- problems that will have to be solved sooner or later -- one question has been definitely answered. The age of nations has ended; the age of continents is beginning. Individual peoples will play only inferior roles; the struggle for the maintenance and preservation of races will rule during the next 1000 years. ~~Adolph~~ Hitler always foresaw this decision. He knew that if Germany succumbed, that the last nation had lost in its death struggle for all nations and people and mainly for Europe.

"Two continents rule the world -- America and Asia, although Asia is temporarily composed of two great groups -- Russia and China. I count England as a part of the American contingent, for without America or Russia it would never have attained its full stature.

"In the middle, between America and Asia, lies Europe, which as the moment is ruled half and half by the two factors. Unfortunately, however, as a result of its geographical position, this demarcation line runs through the middle of Germany. "Whoever controls Germany, controls Europe," says an old proverb. But there is the crux of the matter. Because of that, the struggle will continue until this question of dominion is decided. That, along with certain other doctrinal and revolutionary questions, is my deepest conviction.

"Should the German people wait until this struggle, which is going on in its midst, is decided, and then make its choice, steeped in apathy and fatalism, after it is decided? Or does the German people not have the sacred duty now and always to make up its own mind and to influence the course of events so that the best living conditions

will be insured for its future? Whoever allows himself to be led blindly into the flood will certainly go under; on the other hand, whoever, even in the stormiest waters, struggles against the elements has a chance to be saved. He who forsakes himself is forsaken also by God. The worst danger is apathy and fatalism, and close behind comes a senseless quarreling with fate. We must proceed from these stated facts as unchangeable precepts and draw from them the conclusions which, considering our positions, appear the most expedient for us. Let us act only in Germany's interests and serve only Germany. I promise you, my Germans, that I shall act only as a German. That is the most honorable and proper.

"Despite my lively imagination and my governing feeling, nature has endowed me with a healthy and sober understanding, and with careful and sober consideration I shall write down my thoughts about the coming fate of the German people. I have no illusions, but, at the same time, I overlook no factor that works in Germany's favor. I shall carefully weigh both sides of the question, and then, as a politician, draw my conclusions. I shall not be led by wishing, but only by facts.

"To begin with: 1) Germany is totally defeated, its territory divided, its economy crippled, its cities in ruins, and its freedom destroyed. 2) Worse than that is the threatening danger that the substance of the German people is being destroyed. Hunger, want, and misery which are already increasing the unprecedented losses, remind one of the decline of Carthage. 3) Worst of all is the danger that, if the heart of Europe - Germany - stops beating, the whole body will sicken and die. Since there is no such thing as a vacuum in the world or among peoples, however, Asia with its fantastic potential of propulation would pour in. America, which itself is underpopulated, would take no part in the resettlement of Europe, and would therefore

have no voice in its fate. The power potential would then necessarily turn in favor of Asia. ["] The presence of the occupation would not change matters in the slightest. Germany's and Europe's power in humanity and energy would be dispersed and Asia's power and population would replace it, as it is already beginning to do. And the most important reason is that Asia possesses a powerful and dynamic Idea - Bolshevism, against which the western nations have not yet found an adequate defense. One can think what one will about national socialism; up until the present it was the only idea which held its adherents steadfast against bolshevism. I am sure that this will be the development unless a stop is put to it. Germany -- even present-day Germany, the German people -- and its former western enemies -- America and England, most of all, America -- still have the power to stop and to turn aside this development. And to back this up I should like to enumerate the reasons as coolly and soberly as I did for the fall of Germany.

"1) America is for the moment without reservation the victor of the world and hence the ruler of the world. As a result of her technical and armament superiority she has enough time to mobilize for her own uses the still existing powers of Germany -- Europe, and to commit them in such a way as to insure definitely her hegemony. These powers are:

"2) In the middle of Europe, in spite of all losses, there are still living 80-90 million Germans who are obsessed with one idea -- national socialism -- and, whether they wish it or not -- will remain so obsessed.

"3) The n.s. idea displayed an authority, a leadership, and a discipline which heretofore had never been equalled. That is all still existent. It can still be put to use. Even the Fuhrer, as a result of his sacrificial death, can cast from the grave a mystical power which

will be even stronger perhaps than that of the living ~~Adolph~~ Hitler. Whoever can make use of this, has Germany and with Germany, Europe. For he will win these 80-90 million Germans, and since ideas are not bound down according to occupation zones and modern technical means of communications enable one to disseminate ideas across demarcation lines, all Germans will be beholden to him who acts so wisely and with such foresight.

" I am absolutely certain that the Germans in every province and territory would awaken from their stupefaction in order to acclaim whoever took advantage of these potentialities. Above all, the German youth. I do not deceive myself, they would belong to America without exception ~~if~~ America had the courage to take this step. I know that from the American standpoint such a step would be bold, but from my standpoint, it is a wise and self-evident step. For I know the German people as few people know them. They will gratefully grasp the American hand which saves them from destruction.

" And now I turn to you, German people, I have already said that I write and act only as a German.

" 1) You must make up your mind, for or against, for America or for Asia. You have no other choice. Agreed that you will regain your material life with Asia, perhaps it will even be a good life. The little ordinary man will say: to me it makes no difference, as long as I can only live. The man of limited beliefs and pure understanding will refer to Bismark and base their connection to Asia on him. But I say to you, German people, that is your national degeneration. Asia will absorb~~be~~ and inundate you. Germany and Europe will become a part of Asia. Everything worthwhile, everything high, your blood, your culture, your individuality, in one word, your substance, will degenerate. " German people, I speak here in the exact manner of the ~~F~~ührer. I know from many conversations that I had with him. He

refused to reach any understanding with Asia because he knew that Germany would only drown in the resulting flood. He had respect, perhaps even admiration, for Stalin, but he always shook his head to the suggestion of a rapprochement. He would rather -- as he often said -- fight to the bitter end than to reach an agreement with the Asiatic side and be flooded by it. He looked upon Germany as a dam against this flood and therein he saw his task, his mission.

"Now this dam is broken. You German people, cannot rebuild it alone. America must rebuild it, if she wants to live herself, and you German people, must render America assistance. For you and America there is no other choice.

"America does not wish to rob you of your national individuality. She must wish you to retain it. For one thing, America itself is of European blood -- almost one-third German blood -- secondly, your individuality gives you a strength which America needs in the coming struggle with Asia. America will not attack your substance, but, in her own interest, will see that economic conditions are so arranged so that you can live once more.

"2) No other but America can or will help you in the reconstruction of your cities, your economy, and your culture. No other has the power, the means, or the necessary interest.

"3) On the other hand, America will want it guaranteed that these means will be used in her interest. She will understandably want her own gain. This gain, however, is also your gain, her interest, your interest. The closer you tie your fate to that of America, German people, the better it will be for you. ~~Alone~~^c you can do absolutely nothing. You will only become the sure prey of the Asiatic flood. With America you can be saved, and with her out of gratitude and in her interest you can build a new wall against Asia.

"How do I consider this relationship between America and Germany;

how should this friendship be arranged? America is the conqueror, you the conquered; consequently America will lead and you will follow.

It is good to admit that with all frankness even if it hurts. Contemporary history knows an analogy, though on a smaller scale -- the relationship between the Boers and England after the war in South Africa. At that time the Boer people suffered a defeat as total as Germany. That war was carried on with the utmost bitterness and hate. At that time England originally coined the word "War Criminal" and two men, who are today respected ministers, Smuts and Botha, were the first war criminals and lay in prison. The first concentration camps were established then with all of the hideousness that they have today. In short, such a hate and a bitterness had never before existed. But notwithstanding that, South Africa is today one of the most faithful members of the British Commonwealth and Sir Smuts is its premier. The English and the Boers acted with reason, recognized their mutual interests, and came to agreement. The Boers were subjugated, the English recognized their individuality, rebuilt their country, and both have gained unprecedented blessings and wealth from the understanding. Can the Boers have more freedom than they now enjoy, and can England have a better guarantee of its power than it presently has from a prosperous and grateful South Africa. So I think of the relationship between Germany and America. Germany saves its people and will arise again, and America wins Germany and Europe. How do I think that this plan can be executed?

"1) Between Germany and America there stands something like an evil spirit -- anti-semitism. Until the Jewish problem in Germany is solved, I see no chance to gain the trust of Americans. That is the prerequisite to success. In my work "My Political Testament" I wrote at some length about this subject and pointed out the way along which

we can and must come to a complete solution of this burning question. Only when we seriously tackle this problem can we take the next step -- to bring the German people under American protection and to make them into a member of the American Commonwealth.

"2) This step must be taken with Hitler, not against Hitler. Only then, as I said above, will we have the necessary Authority, Leadership, and Discipline. The national socialist idea -- purged of anti-semitism -- joined with a reasonable democracy -- is the most valuable thing that Germany can contribute. Without this idea the reconstruction of a European wall against Asia is totally impossible. Only national socialism works continually against bolshevism. That must be fully understood.

"It will also be fitting that something similar to the party be reorganized, even -- as far as I am concerned -- if it were under the "Strength through Joy" form. The men are still present, and they were and are the best representatives of German leadership. The most respected and active citizens are those men who worked as Gauleiter, Kreisleiter, and Ortsgruppenleiter. Today they are all, or almost all, incarcerated. They should be used for this noble purpose -- effecting a reconciliation with America and making Germany pro-American; they could accomplish miracles. I even venture to say that without this leadership and organization the goal of a political and economic reconstruction will never be reached. With this leadership and organization all of these problems can be speedily solved.

"I know that I speak boldly. But what is the danger for America? She can readily erase all doubts, mistrust of the occupation through such an action. It is clear that this work can proceed only under the official supervision of the occupation authorities.

[Aside from these facts, there is another point which must be strictly observed if a respectable propaganda can be carried into

every hamlet in Germany, and if this German-American cooperation will be successful.

[3] This action must be carried through in complete secrecy. I believe that this lies first in the interest of American foreign policy in order that her hand may not be shown to Asia too early. It is also in Germany's interest to use this -- I might even say -- illegal way to reach every German even those in the East and Southeast. And third, the propaganda in favor of America, as well as that for a reconciliation with the Jews, will be more penetrating if it smacks of an illegal romanticism. I know the German ^{man} above all the youth.

"I do not speak in this manner because I should like to shirk from the ideas which I have and which are better expressed now than later; reason bids me make these suggestions. Only after this plan has shown itself practicable -- perhaps after one year -- shall we national socialists be able to speak openly of our ideas; for that reason I further suggest:

"4) The head of this action, the leadership should remain under the present form and appearance in Nuremberg. The American staff in the front office in the Palace of Justice, the Germans working staff back in the internment wing of the prison. Everyone who would not belong to this working staff should be transferred, and those persons among the internees who are picked to assist, and who volunteer to do so, plus a few helpers, should remain. Solitary confinement should of course be abolished. I do not ask for any other favors. It is clear that the technical assistance of propaganda be placed at the disposal of me and my staff. This procedure would guarantee a strict secrecy and would offer the American authorities the evidence that we are acting in an honorable and fair manner.

[] "In order to test this theory out in actual practice, I suggest

that it be begun in one Gau -- in Gau Franken-Vumberg -- then to extend it gradually throughout Bavaria until finally all of Germany would be included. Through this gradual extension, we could be insured against surprises.

"I shall not draw further conclusions at this time. They will appear automatically to America and Germany. I shall also not enumerate further details; they would only confuse the larger connection and the larger view.

"I should only like to call attention to one more thing in the utmost clarity. If America does not take over, then Asia will! Germany is leader-less; if it wants to live at all, and it does want to and must live, even if it meant giving up its last and highest value -- its substance -- then it must attach itself somewhere, either to America or Asia. Asia is on the march; America must act, and Germany must place itself without hesitation and with utmost trust under America's protection.

"I have done my duty in expressing that courageously -- even if it costs me my life -- May God see that things happen for the best!

"Fame for the individual; Life for the nation!"

I submit that this is an astounding document. But to Ley it was perfectly logical that he and I instigate a German-American conspiracy in which our Military Government would constitute itself a front and camouflage for a Nazi rebirth carried on within the jail and from there directed by Ley and his colleagues. I need not add, I trust, that this proposal went no farther than my office.

Ley's last commission from Hitler was to organize the Hitler Free Corps, a group to be recruited from the men, women and youths of the Labor Front and staffed by labor leaders. Organized in groups of nine--eight men and one woman--the Free Corps were to carry on guerrilla warfare, offering whatever resistance they could to the advancing Allies. Ley maintained that various groups actually went into action near Berlin but that most of the members were killed.

When Ley was captured by the American Army, he made three mild suicide attempts. In Nuremberg Jail he abandoned for a time his suicidal trend and even concluded--as he indicated in "Life or Fame?"--that there had been a few flaws in Nazi ideology. When I asked him how he, an ardent, old-time Nazi, could so quickly forswear his beliefs, he answer revealed the simplicity of his thought processes. "I arrived at my conclusion by study," he said. "Throughout history it has always been obvious that the right party was successful. In every war, victory came to the right side. Since we, the German people, led by National Socialism, have been so badly beaten, it is evident that we must have been wrong. And, since anti-Semitism was so great a part of our program, I have decided that herein lay our great and grave error."

If this naivete was typical of Ley's reasoning, his solution for the Jewish problem was even more so. For, despite his condemnation of anti-Semitism, Ley was still convinced that the Jews constituted a problem in Germany. "When I returned from the War in 1920, a hero, an old soldier deserving the best of my broken Fatherland, I found that the Jews had the best jobs and we veterans were allowed their leavings. I became convinced that the Jews were the ones who had encircled and attacked Germany, and all I have done under Hitler has been simply self-defense against the Jews.

"Instead of killing the Jews, however, which the course of the war proved to be a mistake, Hitler should have left the entire problem to me. How simply I would have solved it without shedding a drop of blood! After all, I was both the labor leader and the person in charge of housing throughout Germany. I would have first denied the Jews in Germany the right to work and second denied them a place to live.

"You see how good my plan would have been? Without jobs, they could not earn a living. Without homes they could not have lived even if they need not work. All the Jews in Germany would have quietly packed up and moved elsewhere. Is it not so?"

The solution on the surface is as simple as the functioning of Ley's mind.

Ley anticipated that in the trial the persecution of the Jews would be cited against the Nazi leaders. This bothered him greatly. At every interview he reiterated the statement that he himself had never killed anyone; that he was a patriot and would die a patriot, but he could not bear the thought of being called a criminal.

Immediately after reading the indictment wherein he was charged

with being a criminal, he became violently disturbed, orating and ranting, maintaining his innocence and swearing that he would never face trial against such charges. In the middle of this tirade he marched dramatically to the far end of his cell, placed his back against the window, flung out his arms and cried, "Shoot me! Shoot me now as a German. Do not try me as a common criminal!"

I saw him again a few days afterward and asked how he was getting along with his defense. He launched into a bitter harangue. "How can I prepare a defense? Am I supposed to defend myself against all these crimes which I knew nothing about? Hitler and I were only working for the good of the people. If after all this bloodshed some more sacrifices are needed to satisfy the vengeance of the victors, all well and good."

Then, again, he placed himself against the wall and with arms outspread and again begged to be shot. When I again refused his plea, he continued more quietly; "All well and good; you are the victors, but why should I be brought before a tribunal like a c---c---c---c---" At this point he stammered so severely he was utterly unable to continue. When I supplied the word "criminal" to him, he added; "That's it. I cannot even get that word out. I cannot even say it."

Ley obviously brooded over his fate the rest of that day and night. Next morning he was still discussing it. Then, at 8:15 p.m., on the 25th of October, 1945, Ley hanged himself in his cell and was pronounced dead by strangulation at 8:45.

His technique was evidence of his desperation. He had torn the hem from a bath towel, formed a noose and soaked the knots in water

so they would not slip. He then tied the improvised rope on the overhead water pipe of his toilet, sat down on the toilet, put his head through the loop and stuffed his mouth with ragstorn from his underwear so that he would not scream at the last.

He then leaned forward against the noose and strangled himself by deliberate, sustained pressure of his own body. Such a death is both slow and painful. It demonstrated Ley's violent will to die.

Medical and psychological examinations had indicated evidence of organic brain damage, but I was extremely eager to verify the diagnosis and to discover the cause of deterioration. I therefore seized the opportunity to make complete studies. Post mortem examination revealed definite brain damage of the deteriorating type in the frontal lobe area, verifying the diagnosis and accounting for Ley's peculiar behavior as Labor Leader of the Reich.

The final episode in Robert Ley's career I report here not to throw any light on his character but because it is gruesome evidence of the actual feeling of some Germans for their leaders.

Ley's body, after the brain had been removed, was turned over to German undertakers who hauled it away in an open box which had been lined with butcher paper. At the cemetery the box was dropped off beside a freshly dug grave. There Ley's nude body lay exposed for some time when a couple of aged gravediggers, bleary-eyed men with dripping noses, turned up.

"So this is the great Robert Ley, huh?" said one. The other granted a few caustic comments on Ley and his works, together they tipped up the box and the body fell into the open hole, six feet downward to sprawl, face buried in the gravelly mud. Its only

covering before the clouds began to fall was a single flap of coarse butcher's paper which stuck to the back. With no more comment the two old men shovelled in the earth and flattened it over to make a concealed grave.

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PART SIX
THE BUSINESSMEN

Whether in big business or big politics, no organization can succeed without competent legal and financial talent. Hitler soon learned this and early set about recruiting the best men he could buy. He paid for them with promises--of power, prestige, ~~glory~~ and wealth--and let them make their own collections.

One of the men shanghaied with anticipated glory was acquitted at the Nuremberg trial, but there is no indication that all of them did not set each his own price on his services and collect as he could. In turn each supplied the legal tricks or the money-wise shrewdness Hitler demanded. With them he built up his regime. He could not have done it without them.

CHAPTER

HANS FRANK

As Gauleiter of Poland, Dr. Hans Frank sent millions of people to their doom. But the work of an executioner was not that for which he had been made great within the Nazi Party. Frank was Nazism's legal brain; that he became the master of its Polish charnel house was almost a trick of fate.

Frank was born in 1900 in Karlsruhe, Baden, brought up in Munich and trained in the profession of his father, a lawyer. As a child he was quiet but obstinate and preferred studying by himself to games with other children. His mother was very proud of his ability and related that on his first trip to school, he appeared with him a newspaper which he had already learned to read.

As a student, Frank published papers and magazines for his fellows and spent most of his remaining time reading and writing. He was, by all standards, definitely not a mixer. In 1924, he received his Doctor of Jurisprudence degree and in 1926 passed the state legal examinations.

He married in 1925 and had five children. His wife was a Roman Catholic, as were all other members of his family, but Frank left the Church during the time of his Nazi successes. He was a penitent reconverted Catholic before he was executed. Even during the years when he somewhat cynically described himself as "an old Catholic," he urged his employees to attend Mass and asked to be included in their prayers. A hint that Frank never completely foreswore Catholicism for paganism may be found in The Cabin Boy and Columbus, a book with strong Catholic implications which he

published in 1944.

Frank's major hobby was mountain climbing and he spent considerable time in his Bavarian homeland studying geology. He also was interested in the history of Bavaria and Munich and had a large collection of books on the subjects. He

In the late twenties he took over his father's legal practice, after the latter had been disbarred for embezzlement. Frank's father, however, continued to manage the practice while ostensibly serving as his son's bookkeeper. When Frank became Bavarian Minister of Justice under the Nazi Party, Frank, senior, was reinstated but soon embezzled again and, in spite of the influence of his son, was disbarred a second time.

Frank was young and did not volunteer for the Army during the First World War, but near the end he was called up and served in the First Bavarian Regiment.

After the war he became interested in an ^{anti-Semitic} organization led by Dietrich Eckhardt in Munich and soon became a member of Hitler's then small party and his eager servant. Frank took part in the Munich Putsch and, although not arrested, he left Germany for several months. He did not return to Munich until the latter part of the twenties; when he did, he immediately became an active and enthusiastic Nazi. During the last years of the Republic, his law practice included numerous defenses of Nazis, and he also served as Hitler's personal attorney.

When the Nazi Party achieved supremacy, Frank began to reap the rewards he had anticipated for his loyalty to Hitler. As Bavarian Minister of Justice, he introduced a new law in ethics by ~~continuing~~ his own active practice. He soon had a spate of rich clients

Frank was extraordinarily well-read. Even in the prison, between interviews, during his meals and through most of the night, he could be found poring over newspapers or books. He had an excellent memory and had at his tongue's tip a tremendous amount of academic information. He was interested in art and sought out artists and scientists whom he persuaded to give lectures for him. He was particularly fond of music and, unlike most Nazis, preferred Beethoven, Mozart, Chopin and Strauss to Wagner.

He found relief from political frustrations and tensions in music and in chess. He played chess well and employed his skill not only for diversion but also as a personnel-management technique. Whenever he wanted to make up with one of his assistants whom he had treated roughly during the day, he would invite the aid to a chess game and skilfully allow the man to win.

Frank had, in addition to an excellent intelligence, a keen imagination. He was constantly creating new ideas and plans. He had boundless enthusiasm but lacked persistence and seldom saw his plans through to fruition, often losing all interest in a few days. His secretary analyzed him as an optimistic, artist-philosopher who had the desire to lead his own life in his own way. He was extremely gracious to his friends but protected himself from the pressure of his political contacts and his numerous enemies by a wall of arrogance and unco-operative defiance.

Not only his secretary but all his subordinates who could be interviewed were loyal to Frank and tended to present only his best points. Apparently he was kind to his subordinates and loyal to his friends. One of his aids told me with conviction that, "Dr. Frank had a soft heart. In order not to show it, he often hid it

behind an aloof or gruff exterior...He gave orders to his men without listening to their arguments, which naturally made co-operation difficult." These "orders" during Frank's term as Gauleiter of Poland involved the deaths of millions of helpless human beings. His white-washing made no mention of that. Neither, with very few exceptions, did the comments of most of Frank's staff aids whom I questioned.

Frank himself felt very definitely that Adolf Hitler had turned against him and that his assignment to Poland was a form of punishment. He stressed the fact that, thereafter, he was relieved of all political offices such as Reichsleiter of the Legal Association and President of the Legal Academy. He was convinced that this was the result of speeches in which he had criticized the terror regime and the concentration camps. Frank claimed that he attempted to resign at the time but that Hitler had refused to let him.

Frank was captured on the 3rd of May, 1945, and immediately attempted suicide by cutting his left wrist, arm and throat. The injury to his throat was quite superficial but the wrist slashes severed some of the nerves and he developed a moderately severe paralysis of his left hand.

In prison he preserved for the most part a philosophical calm, defending his activity by maintaining that he was only a titular head. He kept his cell in neat condition and during interviews was courteous but formal. He was easily upset and was obviously quite emotional. He cried when he received letters from his family and became violently angry when discussing Hitler's less defensible

policies. He contended that the indictment of himself and his associates was a "political document which although somewhat exaggerated is a horrible commentary on our leadership."

Even before his readmittance to the Catholic church, he went on record to the effect that he had concluded "Hitler was the most destructive phenomenon in history," a malevolent being who had inspired "a sort of mass insanity in his followers with the result that they carried out his brutal ideas without question."

Frank developed an attitude of almost "God-like" martyrdom as he grew resigned to his probable fate. He told me: "Someone must be held responsible. The leaders must pay for the crimes of Hitler and Himmler who escaped." In the next breath, however, he would deny his own guilt claiming that "The question of individual guilt is beside the point. If we do not take the blame, the whole of the German people must suffer."

He often sneered at the "whining" of other major leaders. "They tremble for their own necks now. But it did not bother them when they dragged millions of people to war and made fine speeches about braver and more unselfish sacrifice for the Fatherland even unto death. Now that their own lives are at stake, they shiver and whimper and the ones most responsible bow out of the picture with cowardly suicide." Apparently he had forgotten that it was only through the skill of American medical officers that his own suicide attempt was a failure.

As the trial came nearer, Frank became religious and he was baptized in his cell on the 25th of October, 1945. At about this time he explained that he felt his fate had been sealed by a destiny which identified him with the most horrible crimes in

history. Admitting the magnitude of the German crimes, he said; "All my misdeeds were committed in enthusiasm for Hitler. Now I have confessed and accepted my share of the guilt. I will pay by taking my punishment.

"Many things have become clear to me in the loneliness of this cell. There is a definite irony which is far more devastating than any punishment that man has devised. Hitler represents the spirit of evil on earth and recognized no power greater than his own. God simply watched this band of brethren puffed up with their puny power and then simply brushed them aside in scorn and amusement.

"I tell you the scornful laughter of God is more terrible than any vengeful laws of man. Here are the would-be rulers of Germany each in a cell like this with four walls and a toilet, awaiting trials as ordinary criminals. Is that not a proof of God's amusement at a mass sacrilegious quest for power?

"But are these people thankful for these last few weeks in which to atone for their sins and to recognize that they have been in league with the devil incognito? No. They worry about their own little necks and cast about for all kinds of little excuses to absolve themselves of blame. Can they not see that this is a horrible tragedy in the history of mankind and that we are symbols of an evil that God is brushing aside?"

It was obvious that Frank, to himself, was a great tragic figure, a representative of God who had sold his soul and was but purchasing it back at the cost of his life. This feeling made it possible for him again to achieve ^{that} ~~an~~ attitude of superiority and dominance for which he had always striven. He was, in fact, using the knowledge

that he must die as a crutch to bolster his ego.

On the other hand, he honestly felt--with typical self-centeredness, that by confessing and giving up his own life he could gain the approval of the world. The superficiality of his "atonement," unrecognized by himself, was demonstrated during the trial when the Vatican introduced certain evidence. Frank through his lawyers challenged the Vatican's right to introduce this material and threatened to leave the Church again if the Vatican were to act as a political power.

After his adoption of the beatific attitude, Frank became increasingly aloof and withdrawn and turned his entire emotional drive and keen imagination to building up himself as a great and good man. Consequently he was made irate and disturbed by the atrocity movies and documents which tended to deny his virtue. After the atrocity films were shown he was extremely upset and made a long and vehement protest against the men who could have done such deeds, worthy of the direst punishment. Then, in a lower tone of voice, he reiterated his own complete innocence.

As a psychiatrist, I should say that Frank's beatific tranquility merely hid his own tensions, and that he had converted these tensions into an outward-appearing composure which protected him from his own feelings. This was a dangerous removal from reality. Frank was the type, should the pressure become too great, who could develop insane reactions.

111

CHAPTER

HJALMAR HORACE GREELEY SCHACHT

WALTHER FUNK

Hjalmar Schacht, who owed his two middle names to his family's fondness for the great American newspaper editor, was born on the 22nd of January, 1877, in northern Silesia. At 69, he was still undoubtedly the most intelligent of the entire group of Hitlerianists who stood trial at Nuremberg. A perfectly stable personality, Schacht was simply a man interested in making money, an eager banker who discovered that the Nazi Party was--for a time--an ideal investment.

Schacht had traveled considerably through Europe, Asia, and North America and he spoke excellent English and French. His personal life was ~~essentially~~ that of any sober, important businessman, and he always conducted himself as such, even in jail. He had been married twice, the second time to a woman thirty years his junior. His first wife died a few years after the end of the First World War.

Schacht's whole career had been in finance. He began life as a mere run-of-the-grill banker. However, by 1923, he claims to have been responsible for the re-arrangement of the mark which ended the post-war inflation. As a result of this maneuver, he became President of the Reichsbank and thereafter employed himself primarily in developing German economy.

In defense of his Nazi activity, he assured me that, even after 1933, his efforts were devoted not to strengthening Nazism but primarily to building a strong Germany. In line with this,

Schacht carefully pointed out, it was necessary, of course, to build a strong German Army, Navy and Air Force. Nonetheless, he could not deny that, had it not been for him, the Nazi Party would have had a thin pocketbook.

However, Schacht insisted--and he convinced the court--that he disagreed with Hitler's basic policies and most of the Nazi ideology. Until 1938, in spite of whatever disagreements there might have been, he nevertheless remained Hitler's foremost public salesman. At that time, Schacht said, he felt that overemphasis on armaments was tending to upset the German economy. There followed an open break with the Nazi Party and, as war approached, Schacht was replaced as head of the Reichsbank by Funk.

The Schacht defense was, even in the intimacy of a cell, better than most. Possibly foreseeing his prewar predicament, as early as 1942 he began to point out for the record Germany's doubtful future. Though he was then living in retirement on his farm, his protests eventually reached the ears of Hitler and he was placed in a concentration camp in 1944. What part he played in the conspiracy that led to the attempted assassination of Hitler in July, 1944, he never outlined for me.

Schacht was overjoyed when his concentration camp was swept up by the American Army. He was more than a little annoyed when the Americans, instead of freeing him with honor as a member of the German underground, listed him as a war criminal and put him on trial. Understandably, he nursed thereafter a bitter grudge against both Nazism and the Allies.

Basically, Schacht's is a somewhat constricted personality. All of his actions stemmed primarily from the intellectual rather

than from emotional levels. His attitude toward the trial was that hanging was quite in order for Goering and his ilk. He himself resented being in prison and being listed as a war criminal. He maintained that, obviously, he was not an associate of Goering or Kaltenbrunner or Streicher; consequently he didn't expect to be hanged. He put it this way in one of our interviews: "I understand that the German leadership has much to answer for and it is better to determine the truth in court, to establish relative guilt and innocence once and for all. Of course, anyone who is innocent will not be punished."

Schacht's excuse for his own behavior was interesting. "I was fool enough to believe in Hitler's peaceful intentions in the beginning. I did support re-armament only to the point of insuring Germany's security, but I became more and more suspicious as he tried to absorb all of the country's financial resources in armaments.

"The turning point came when he dismissed von Fritsch who never wanted aggressive war and put in his lackey, Keitel. I then withheld funds for further armament and got kicked out as a result. The more aggressive he became the more defeatist I became. Finally he threw me into a concentration camp in 1944.

"As for anti-Semitism, I did exact an understanding from him that there was to be no discrimination in the industrial field as early as 1934. The basic problems were not really racial anyway. That's just a lot of nonsense. It was essentially a question of curtailing Jewish over-representation in business and in the professions.

insert page 0 as final ad Schacht

Schacht was adjudged "not guilty" on the fact that he left Hitler's cabinet eight months before the actual moment when Polish troops resisted invasion by German armed forces. I cannot resist asking: Would Schacht have been "guilty" if Austrian troops, eight and a half months before he left office, or Czechoslovakian troops, only five weeks before, had fired on invading German soldiers?

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"I first found out about the atrocities while I was interned in Flossenburg. I could hear people being forced to undress and being made to march to their death. It was beastly. The only reason I can imagine why I was kept alive was in case I might be needed as a possible hostage or negotiator."

In these few paragraphs, Schacht revealed his true feelings about Nazi Germany. A shrewd, highly intelligent, fish-blooded banker, he re-organized the German financial system and aided the Nazi Party because it was a way to build a better Germany--and so a better banking system of which he was the head.

His reaction toward persecution was not based on any feeling for the persecuted but rather on how the financial status of Germany, and consequently himself, would be affected.

His arguments with Hitler were not based on any real differences of opinion concerning Hitler's aggressive drives, but rather on Schacht's intellectual conclusion that such drives would result in defeat for Germany, and loss of financial stature for Schacht.

His final defeatism was not the result of any dislike of the Nazi system but rather of realization that the end was bankruptcy, for Germany and for Schacht.

Schacht was merely a financier without conscience. He co-operated with the Nazi Party simply because it afforded him the greatest scope for development of his own ideas and the rapid increase of his personal fortune and prestige.

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When Hitler decided to replace Schacht as head of the Reichsbank with Walther Funk, he made one of his poorest choices. Physically

and emotionally, Funk and Schacht are direct antitheses. One could scarcely imagine greater contrast to the tall, slender, aristocratic and intelligent Schacht than Funk, the short, waddling fat and punch-heavy, ~~pishin~~ coarse-featured and of only average intellectual ability. While Schacht is cold, shrewd and egocentric, Funk is emotionally labile and quite susceptible to outside stimulation. He will not be happy as a lifer in prison, the living, labeled remnant of a government by ghouls who hoarded in the Reichsbank vaults the pitiful gold teeth and fillings from the mouths of their multitude of victims.

It is my opinion that Funk was so poorly qualified for the job that Hitler gave him that he was able to appear to perform it only because of Schacht's skillful organization of the Reichsbank. He was a servile errand boy, a greasy yes-man without the capacity to guide or to abet the Nazi Party.

Born on the eighteenth of August, 1890, Funk grew up on a farm -- "with the horses and dogs," he once told me. His education was limited to high school, although he took some postgraduate work in literature and jurisprudence. He became a journalist and, after joining the Nazi Party in 1931, was made publisher of an economic-political magazine. In 1933, Hitler made him Chief of Press and four years later elevated him to his cabinet as Minister of Economics. He succeeded Schacht in the Reichsbank in 1939.

Aside from Hess, Funk is the only one of the Nuremberg Nazis who believed in astrology. Almost as soon as I began interviewing him for the first time he volunteered that he had been "born on a Sunday morning at 9 o'clock in the sign of the Lion, the particularly favorable constellation of Jupiter." Funk was extremely self-

centered, greatly concerned with his bodily health. He wept frequently in his cell, overwhelmed by maudlin self-pity. Easily affected by other persons, he made more complaints than any other in the jail. He was ready, even adept, with words.

Funk was the anomaly of ~~the~~ Nuremberg Jail. Definitely a weak, inadequate, soft personality type, it is surprising that he was able to get by at all in the Nazi big league. It is possible that a ready wit alone saved him--that the other hard-working Nazi leaders found some relaxation in his presence, that it was the attraction of opposites one sees in the curious friendship of a high-strung racehorse and a dumpy shetland.

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14

CHAPTER
WILHELM FRICK
ARTHUR SEYSS-INQUART

Two other lawyers, who won notoriety and assumed guilt second to Frank, were Frick and Seyss-Inquart.

Wilhelm Frick was of average height, white-haired, close-cropped, bland looking, had been Hitler's first Minister of Interior and, during the war, the German "protector" of Bohemia and Moravia. He was born on the 12th of March, 1877, and would have reached his full three score and ten had his hanging been only a few months delayed.

Frick attended several universities but obtained his law degree from Munich and his doctorate from the same university in 1903. Early involved in politics, he became a district court lawyer at Munich but achieved no prominence until after he met Hitler and joined the Nazi Party. One of the first members of the little group that centered around Der Fuehrer, he was also one of the first it managed to send to the Reichstag in 1924.

Frick was, simply, a career politician. Suave, polite, evasive, he was also cold, hard and completely devoid of moral integrity or human sensitivity. He viewed the Party as a vehicle on which he could ride to power, and he was ruthless toward anyone who stood in his way.

In jail and facing death, Frick did not recant. He maintained in our interviews that the victor had the right to rule as he saw fit, and he accepted his fate. He sought to excuse himself by contending that the Nazi Party had done a great deal of good for Germany. As

one of the men who promulgated the Nuremberg Laws, he argued that they were scientifically and politically sound and necessary. Failing to establish these points, he shifted ground to claim that he, personally, "had merely helped prepare these instruments for German racial purity, and when the actual slaughter of Jews began, I was in a position which prevented my interfering."

It was much the same weak, hair-splitting defense of Rosenberg or Streicher. "I never wanted the Jewish people killed, but anti-Semitism developed beyond my control."

Frick never once in my presence displayed any feelings of guilt--even for the sick, insane and aged, the "useless eaters" who were put to death with his full knowledge. He exhibited at all times an unemotional personality pattern--that of a typically self-seeking individual who had ridden the band wagon with only his own aggrandizement in mind.

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Arthur Seyss-Inquart, another of the auslanders, was the second most intelligent of the defendants tested at Nuremberg. He was born on the 22nd of July, 1892, in Moravia, then Austrian territory. Tall and slender, with a limp which is a memento of First World War service/in the Austrian Army, he was reserved, introspective, studious. His wound had won him release from the Army and he had won his law degree in 1917 shortly before the independent Czechoslovakian state was founded.

Seyss-Inquart migrated from Moravia to Austria and entered Austrian politics in 1930. Between 1934 and 1938 he worked with the illegal Austrian Nazi Party but refrained from actually joining.

11

In 1938 Schussnigg, apparently assuming he was a loyal Austrian, appointed Seyss-Inquart Minister of the Interior and Security. Thereupon Seyss-Inquart revealed his true bent and opened the border to German troops.

Oddly enough, at this time Seyss-Inquart was not yet a member of the Nazi Party and could not be immediately rewarded for his treachery by an official Nazi appointment. This deficit was soon remedied, however, and Seyss-Inquart took over as Governor of Austria.

In 1939, following the conquest of Poland, he served as assistant to Frank and helped instigate the Polish terror. In 1940 he was appointed Commissioner of the Netherlands and, in that post, he was responsible for the persecution and slaughter of Dutch Jews and the brutal forced labor program by which Holland was robbed and her youth destroyed.

Personally, Seyss-Inquart was aloof and cold in his manner and, throughout my observation of him, remained convinced that the things he did were for the best for Germany. The outcome of the war had left him all but completely dejected. "In view of the complete catastrophe of Germany and of the German people nationally, economically, politically, and spiritually, there is nothing left to do but wait patiently for the development of the situation and hope that the suffering was not all in vain."

In this icy and introverted personality there was concern only for the sufferings of the German people. Apparently there was no room in his withdrawn soul for sympathy toward the countless thousands of Austrians, Poles and Dutchmen who perished as a direct result of his orders.

CHAPTER
ALBERT SPEER
FRITZ SAUCKEL

The production end of Hitler's business enterprise, including labor and construction, was looked after by the architect Speer and the recruiting agent Sauckel.

Albert Speer, originally Hitler's architect and the successor to OOOOOOOOOO Todt (?) as Minister of War Production, can be written off as an extremely intelligent, sensitive, creative, highly skilled architect, boyish in nature and concerned only with his work. I have often thought of Speer as a racehorse in blinkers--a creature born and bred to perform one esthetic function, and able to see only enough to accomplish his primary purpose.

Speer exploited the Nazi Party more objectively even than Goering. He toadied to Hitler much in the same fashion as ~~MacVikhaigh~~ ~~aptitudinous~~ Sforza. Joining the Party in 1932, Speer soon was commissioned by it to remodel one of the major buildings in Berlin. His architectural skill was excellent, but his arithmetic was not. The expense in which he involved the Party, far beyond his estimate, caused a bitter row and brought down Munich's wrath on the Berlin group. Thereafter, for about a year, Speer was offered no further Party work.

With Hitler's rise to power in 1933, however, expense was no longer a serious problem. Besides, the Fuehrer liked Speer's grandiose style and he was commissioned to decorate several Party rallies. Eventually Speer was formally appointed Hitler's architect and Hitler became very fond of the shy, sincere, intelligent man

whose flattering genius was to design the basic structures for the "thousand-year Reich."

Speer, aside from a very lively realization of where his commissions came from, have no strong interest in anything but architecture. Even in jail,--where he surely would not have been except as Minister of War Production--he considered the 8th of February, 1942, a day of good fortune for him. That was the day Todt was killed in an airplane crash and Speer became mast of all construction in Germany. The fact that he also became responsible for all war production also was a distraction he could not avoid. I doubt if he ever worried about being responsible for the care and feeding of his slave laborers. He refused to be diverted and spent most of his time doing architectural and research work.

A quiet, introverted prisoner, Speer spent his energies in jail in the same direction--making architectural drawings. He showed little worry over his fate or his defense. His whole attitude toward the trial was reflected in a comment he made to me after a motion picture of a Party ceremony was shown: "I was glad to see the pictures because they gave me an opportunity to see again the beautiful buildings that I planned." He may, even now, count twenty years in prison a small price to pay for the buildings he designed.

Speer's guilt rests on his responsibility for misues of slave labor as Chief of War Production. It is likely that he handled this job as he handled everything else, as an architectural dreamer to whom buildings were more important than his own honor or a million lives rather than as a practical producer of war goods.

It is probable that the great Todt organization carried on successfully in spite of speer, rather than because of him.

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Fritz Sauckel, chief of slave "recruitment" for Nazi Germany was without doubt the most insignificant of all on trial. Physically, he was a small man; intellectually, he was only average; emotionally, he was extremely immature. When I first interviewed him he was full of excuses for his actions; but when I pinned him down with actual evidence of criminal mistreatment of foreign workers, he would switch to a vigorous statement of his belief in the Fuehrer and declare himself ready to die for having carried out Hitler's orders.

The general, and repeated, patterns of his behavior was, first, cringing friendliness and eagerness to "explain" his position, then flat defiance when it became obvious that he was guilty.

Sauckel was born on the 27th of October, 1894. He attended grammar school for five years, then went to sea as a cabin boy. That was the end of his schooling. The rest of his education was picked up in virtually every port in the world, scores of forecables and in

During the First World War, the merchant ship on which he was serving was captured and Sauckel became a prisoner of war in August, 1914. He was held in France for five years and reached home almost a year after the war ended. Thereafter he became a factory hand and, in time, a tool maker. He became something of a labor leader and during the Twenties was involved in the factional strife that raged among German democratic socialists, communists and other groups. As a social democrat he took part in many strikes and labor negotiations.

Becoming more active politically, in 1927 he was made district leader and, eventually, Governor of Thuringia. He swung his influence to the side of the National socialists in 1933 and Hitler

paid him off with appointment as Reichsleiter in Thuringia. After the war began in 1939 he was appointed one of the general leaders of labor in the Four Year Plan.

Sauckel's political motivation was that of a simple, uneducated individual who accepts what the Party says and operates as if it were established truth. He was convinced that the Allied nations--plus the "International Jews" of course--had done irreparable damage to the German people. He felt that it was his mission to fight against these influences.

I had access to some of Sauckel's letters to Hitler. They were, literally, worshipful in tone. Without question, he had for Hitler the loyal fidelity of a dog to its master. In Nuremberg Jail he came to feel that perhaps Himmler and Goebbels had corrupted Hitler and he held them responsible for leading the Party into the crimes against humanity. He contended, however, that his own hands were clean of blood and he was really confident he would not be executed.

His point was that he was merely employed to obtain labor for Germany. That so many workers died in Germany was not his problem. He saw no connection between that and his orders that Germany was to have first choice of all available labor forces in conquered countries. He admitted nothing wrong in the uprooting of hundreds of thousands of French and Dutch and other foreign nationals so that Germany might win the war. He quite apparently had no guilt on his conscience. After all, he had been told and he believed, Germany had the absolute right and even the duty to mobilize labor in Europe. He honestly believed that Germany was the savior and defender of Europe and he had convinced himself that the deportations of countless thousands for forced labor in Germany was for the good

of all Europe.

Sauckel was one of the few individuals in Nuremberg Jail who had neither the breadth of vision nor the depth of conscience to realize his guilt. Small of stature, both physically and psychologically, he certainly did not give the impression of being a leader. Perhaps not curiously, Sauckel actually got some satisfaction out of being on trial. I suspect he took a shread of it with him to the gallows. For he was accustomed to being--and to being recognized as--a second-rate Nazi. To be classed with the Major Nazis, even as a war criminal, was for Sauckel definitely aggrandizement of the ego.

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PART SEVEN

DER FUHRER

Hitler's Germany was a huge organization, ruthless and all-powerful, impersonal in its dealings with even its officials, demanding only results and caring little for the manner of their achievement. It was all of that, and more. It was the organization plus the organizer. The one could not have been without the other.

The effective impersonality of the Nazi machine, its total lack of human feeling or conscience, stems directly from Hitler's theory that a few men carefully chosen, adroitly assigned and required to show results can be the totalitarian leaders of an entire country. Hitler selected and assigned the men, and that they got results is a matter of record.

It is important to realize that the Nazi system was not set up as other governments but represents the end point in the development of a totalitarian state. Each individual was directly subordinate to Hitler as well as to every subleader of rank superior to his own. Hitler's decision on all matters was final, and he controlled not only the function but the lives of his subordinates.

Obviously the most important person in the hierarchy was Adolf Hitler. Numerous books have been written giving more or less complete completely the story of his life, and such data are of extreme importance if one is to deduce the structure of Hitler's personality and answer the question of how it came to develop along the lines it did.

But for the purposes of this book I have been more interested in

the comments of his contemporaries, his aides, his personal physicians and his secretaries. Much of this material has hitherto been unpublished and some of the critical evaluations of his personality are from men now dead.

How Hitler got his personality is a problem for detailed analytical study, a task still unfinished. What follows is a postmortem portrait of that personality.

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CHAPTER

ADOLF HITLER

It cannot be denied that Adolf Hitler was a remarkable personality. I use the past tense because--though he was reputed to fear death and had a strong antipathy to suicide--the consensus of his closest friends with whom I talked is that he is dead, and that he killed himself. The opinion seems plausible.

Of course, it was well known that Hitler had for many years demonstrated a definite fear of death. He frequently remarked that he must work rapidly because his time was running short. He constantly forced his associates to work overtime in order that their tasks might be done in case something happened to him. He lived with a gnawing fear of stomach cancer, which was no more than a nervous belly ache.

Coupled with these fears of death was his intense dislike of any talk of suicide. It was a Hitlerian dictum that, "No one but a weakling or a fool ever would commit suicide." There would always be, he insisted, some way of restoring one's position so long as life lasted; after death there was no hope. Those were the opinions Hitler expressed again and again in the days before disaster impended--for him.

As the military catastrophes of 1944 mounted, however, his associates noted that Hitler was changing. As time went on and defeats multiplied and his own body gave way to the strain, he was heard to say that he could easily understand how someone who was no longer healthy could kill himself. At this time he was particularly concerned with a partial paralysis and tremor of his

left hand and he expressed a terrible fear that this affliction might spread to his right hand. One day he said flatly that, if this happened, he would put an end to himself.

Another factor in Hitler's developing suicidal potentialities was mentioned to me by Goering. Goering was present when the pictures of the defiled Duce and his mistress were shown to Hitler. Still visibly excited by the recollection, his fists clenching spasmodically, Goering told the story:

"We got the complete pictures of Mussolini dead in the gutter with his mistress--and hanging in the air upside down. They were awful. Hitler went into a frenzy. He seized the pictures and went up and down the hall shouting, 'This will never happen to me!' He waved the pictures in his hand. Afterward Hitler several times brought up the subject spontaneously. He swore that he would never be taken alive and that no angry Germans would ever have the opportunity to defile his corpse.

"That is also the reason why Hitler never led a last heroic charge against the Russians. We talked about it, but Hitler decided he might be killed. He might only be wounded, after which he would be subjected to the same treatment as Mussolini."

Finally, in studying the events that led to Goering's fall from favor, I ascertained that Hitler discussed the idea of suicide with Ribbentrop, Jodl, Himmler, Goebbels and Bormann during the week of April 30, 1945. His last testament declares that, "My wife and I choose to die in order to escape shame and overthrow or capitulation."

Psychologically, therefore, it is quite within the realm of possibility for Hitler to have committed suicide. That he had his

body and that of Eva Braun cremated rather than preserved to be buried in pomp by the German people is also reasonable in view of his fear of mutilation.

I stress these facts because Hitler's basic personality, as will be made clear, is of the paranoid hysterical type which ordinarily makes only suicidal gestures and succeeds only by accident. In Hitler's case, however, the pressure toward the end must have been extreme, and we find gradually increasing trends toward actual, culminated suicide as an escape.

That Hitler was a remarkable man was the basis of his idolization by the German people; it must be admitted those of us who were his bitterest enemies. Biographers in Germany have written endlessly, and worshipfully, portraying his every good point. Biographers outside Germany, many of whom were refugees from his terror, emphasize his weaknesses and peculiarities; they picture him as ^{an} unstable, sexually perverted, intellectually inadequate, uneducated, domineering fool. It is obvious that such biographies reflect more the personality pattern of the author than the actual structure of Hitler's character.

If we are to understand why this physically unpretentious individual was able to control totally the lives of so many persons, we must abandon our prejudices and concentrate on those facets of Hitler's personality which made him able to rule.

Hans Frank, in the autobiography he wrote in prison--"for my children so they may learn from my mistakes"--wrote this:

"It is not easy to explain how the fate of the whole Reich could have depended on an ordinary individual, a clod of petty and ephemeral flesh and blood like the rest of us...."

"I believe that the figure of Adolf Hitler will remain as a vague nightmare in German memory, a page for future legends. And those legends will tend to forget the pain and suffering he caused but will, instead, elevate and glorify the personality of one man who made the German people and the German nation his own willing private property, which he could command to his own liking."

This, I fear, is an accurate prognostication. The Hitler legend can be rendered relatively harmless only if we help all the world to see Adolf Hitler as he actually was. In order to portray him most objectively, as a human organism, let us first look at him through the eyes of the doctors who treated him. The following is abstracted from the reports of his five physicians:

Physically, Hitler weighed about 150 pounds and was five feet, nine inches in height. His skin was pale, and his physique generally unprepossessing. Complete medical examinations were essentially normal and the usual medical procedures were generally negative. Toward the end of 1943, he developed some weakness of the left leg and of the left arm, in which he also developed increasing tremulousness. He was studied by a number of physicians, and the symptoms were diagnosed as hysterical reaction without actual nerve damage.

In the spring of 1944, the tremor became so bad that Hitler was frequently unable to use his left hand, and usually carried it held close to his body. At times during this period he would become extremely upset by the constant shaking of his hand and he would hold it still with his right hand. Interestingly enough, one of his physicians points out that, whenever Hitler was asked about it, the tremor would stop.

After the unsuccessful attempt on Hitler's life in July, 1944, when his right leg and arm were bruised by the blast, his left hand recovered perfect functioning for about eight weeks. Then, as the right side returned to normalcy, the left side began again to get progressively worse, and during the winter of 1945, his left hand and arm seemed almost useless.

Aside from this hysterical reaction, Hitler presented no physical abnormalities of any type.

Hitler's personality is a much more difficult problem. As one of his physicians puts it: "His psychic state was very complex."

In order to understand Hitler's reactions to life we must review briefly his family problems, his youth and young manhood, what is called his developmental background.

Hitler's father was apparently a somewhat unstable individual who had married three times, possessed great ambition, and was extremely strict. Hitler at times throughout his life commented on his father's firmness. From it he apparently developed early a violent hatred of authority of any type--except that exercised by himself or in his name.

Hitler's mother, on the other hand, was a simple housekeeper; and he spoke frequently and respectfully of her as a modest and quiet woman who lived only for her children. She apparently was often afraid of the harshness of her husband who was unindulgent toward his family. A great number of Hitler's biographers have emphasized Hitler's firm attachment to his mother, and have suggested that he suffered from an Oedipus complex. This may well be.

When Hitler was 000000, his mother died and, in a spirit of

revolt against his father, he went to Vienna to live with an aunt. Here he had little supervision. He failed to qualify as a student of architecture, was apparently lazy and showed his resentment of authority in his refusal either to attend school or to work. He developed during this period his strong feeling for Germany and intense hatred for Vienna, particularly the Jews of Vienna.

Hitler's political beliefs probably stem from the fact that Linz, his home city, was a rural town in the German style, quite unlike the sophisticated Vienna under the later Hapsburgs. Hitler must have bitterly resented that, in Vienna, he was an utter nobody.

In contrast to the strong grounding in pro-Germanism and anti-Semitism which Hitler acquired in Vienna, he got only little more than a smattering of artistic skills. He had hoped, of course, to be an architect; he was willing to settle for a career as a water-colorist. He achieved neither.

Later, having failed at everything he tried, Hitler left Vienna and went to Munich, and it was here that he volunteered for the German Army following the outbreak of war in 1914. Almost every biographer has commented on the fact that Hitler found in war a solution to his problems, an outlet for his aggressions. He was, as a soldier, in the pure German tradition, and he had a certain amount of authority. Karl Brandt, one of his five physicians, in discussing this phase of his life states:

In contrast to the strong grounding in ~~art~~ ^{art} ~~than~~ his pro-German and anti-Semitism, which ~~orientations~~ Hitler acquired in Vienna, he got only a little more than a smattering of artistic skills. He had hoped, of course, to be an architect; he was willing to settle for a career of a water colorist, traits, and in Vienna, he secured some further ~~he achieved neither~~ artistic education.

~~Having failed at everything he tried in Vienna, Hitler~~
Later, he went to Munich, and it was here that he volunteered for the German army following the outbreak of the war in 1914. Almost every biographer has commented on the fact that in the war, Hitler found a solution to his present problems. He found an outlet for his aggressiveness. He was at least, as a soldier, in the pure German tradition a soldier, and he had a certain amount of authority. Karl Brandt, one of his physicians, five in discussing this phase of his life, states:

"I want to stress the emotional awakening of understanding, reason and criticism that took place in Adolph Hitler during this period. While in the field, he almost exclusively carried books of the philosopher Schopenhauer with him. Adolph Hitler was found as a brave and reliable soldier. He became regimental messenger and remained on this job until the end of the war. Although his qualities as a soldier were excellent, he became only a corporal. A promotion would have meant the loss of his position with the regimental staff. Because of the centralized and supervisory nature of this work, he decided against a promotion. A strong friendship prevailed among all messengers, and no one wanted to quit his job of his own free will. To understand Adolph Hitler fully, it is important to note that this first war

changed the artist or rather the artistic nature into a hard, resolute man. He became more and more estranged to Schopenhauer. Hitler was also appointed by the officers as ~~a speaker~~ ^{spokesman} for the soldiers, and even ~~then~~ ^{when} ~~here~~ his speeches contained political tendencies. [After the war.]

In the strongly left-orientated Munich, Hitler took the national direction as emphasized at Lintz, and slowly introduced socialistic feelings developed from the comradeship of soldiers and veterans."

These comments by a physician who worked with Hitler for many years are probably accurate. There is no doubt but that Hitler's character was influenced by the war and the comradeship which he developed represents his first actual attachment to other people. In addition, during the war Hitler undoubtedly, while acting as a representative of the soldiers, ~~realized~~ ^{got a hint of} his ~~ability~~ ^{personality} as a ~~powerful and able~~ speaker. As Hitler gained confidence, he continued his political activity and the rest of his developmental period has been adequately recorded by his biographers.

In discussing his adult personality, his physicians ^{point} ~~state~~ that he possessed certain personality characteristics which must be understood. These include a strong intuitional artistic talent, a tremendous physical energy connected with personal courage, an excellent mind, which included an outstanding memory, and an

absolute will power, tending to intolerant resoluteness.

In addition, he had a dominating personality and an uncanny ability to shift his approach to meet ~~the~~ ^{differing} situation. These factors are obviously the basic building stones of Hitler's personality. They have been verified by all ^{who studied him} ~~of his contacts~~ and seem to be those things in his personality which are outstanding.

In order to get a better picture of these positive assets, let us look briefly at each point.

His artistic talents have been mocked by many artists who considered only his attempts at painting.

Just how good Hitler was as a painter ~~is hard to say,~~

~~and is a question for the art critics.~~ ^{unprejudiced}

In addition, to painting, however, he was extremely interested in architecture, and many of his plans for the remodeling of Berlin, Munich, Lintz, etc., dated back to the

^{Mercur} early years. ~~He always had an idea in mind of being an architect, and planned the Reich autobahn,~~

~~as the German railway.~~ ^{He, always regretted his inability to ~~carry out~~ ^{become an} his architectural ideas and ^{once said} ~~stated~~:}

"As I want to be an architect, and because I am an artist, I must, in order to realize my plans, choose a detour and engage in politics. No regent will ever grant me the funds which will be necessary for the execution of my plans."

In addition to his architectural inclinations,

Hitler even during his darkest moments was always sketching and drawing. On surveys at the Eastern and Western fronts, he frequently sketched gun positions, pill boxes and defense lines. He also turned his hand towards costume designing and designed the uniform of the foreign ministry.

he developed the habit as
His energy is common knowledge to everyone. The records of ^{the First} World War ~~indicate~~ indicate that he had personal courage and that he was an energetic worker. Comments by his co-workers indicate that he could frequently work for several days without stopping, and that he did most of his work at night. He *explained this by* ~~saying~~ ^{saying} that ~~when~~ ^{where} a student in Vienna, he had to work during the day and ~~learn to read and~~ study at night, ~~and consequently developed the habit.~~ During his last few years, he was sustained in his efforts by various physicians who gave him numerous injections, particularly of glucose, which may have to some degree increased his energy output. On the whole, however, we find that he was always a diligent worker, constantly on the job, and possessed of a terrific driving force.

His intelligence is a moot question. So far as the records show, he was never given a formal intelligence examination, but ~~the fact remains that~~

he must have been well above average.

His memory, vouched for particularly by Brandt but verified by virtually every person who ever worked with him, was apparently phenomenal. Although he had not received a good formal education, he read constantly in every field and was obviously able not only to read rapidly but to retain and utilize information so gained. His memory seems equally good for happenings, persons or abstract subjects. Brandt states that, during ten years with him constantly and skeptically checking up on him in encyclopedias and dictionaries, he never once caught Hitler in a mistake of memory.

In the military field, Keitel swore, Hitler was a strategical genius. There is no doubt but that he was well-read in his tremendous military library of nearly every book known to military science. His excellent memory impressed Doenitz who told me that Hitler was able to give at any time complete descriptions with all specifications of every type of naval craft. Keitel and Jodl were also amazed at this ability. Hitler, in an off-hand way, could cite any information concerning any piece of Wehrmacht ordnance, listing all its specifications from memory.

Hitler's intellectual ability, however, consisted in more than a remarkable memory. It can be seen also in his great organizational capacity. He was apparently a born organizer and had the rare ability to place his followers, generally, in the most useful positions.

Finally--and this is my own conclusion based on the testimony of his doctors, secretaries and ministers--Hitler had a profound conviction of his own ability, amounting to megalomania. He firmly believed that he was the only individual who could lead the Third

Reich to success, and at times he seemed to feel that he had been chosen by Heaven for the task. As a consequence, he was excessively intolerant of any ideas which did not agree with his own.

In fact, Hitler could not tolerate competition in any sphere and he would become seriously upset when anyone argued with him.

In his own private circle, Hitler's behavior was generally genial. No one crossed him and he was liked by his intimates for the usual reasons--kindliness and cordiality. He was especially friendly toward children and older people. He had a great understanding for the little pleasures, and in his dealings with women displayed a very positive charm.

Everyone who discussed this point with me mentioned that Hitler behaved like "a Viennese gentleman"--a German character similar to our "Southern gentleman." This behavior not only included the usual social amenities but an exaggeration of grace. Hitler, for instance, made it a point to kiss the hand of any woman to whom he was introduced. He apparently liked to be with women and often demanded with a minimum of tact that the most beautiful and interesting sit beside him. Brandt observed that he sometimes became almost coquettish.

Hitler's ideal of woman was a creature of beauty and intelligence--for the amusement of men at parties and dances. He felt, however, that women's intelligence should not be along political lines; and he often said that, so far as he personally was concerned, he was not interested in women who had original ideas because he himself had "enough ideas for both."

~~With regard to his character, Hitler sometimes said that~~

~~he was a coquettish man, especially when he was alone.~~

Curiously, according to Brandt who knew her well, Eva Braun-- Hitler's favorite and eventually his wife--though pretty, intelligent and extremely energetic, was somewhat masculine in nature. She dressed most often in sport clothes and her interests were swimming, skiing, and mountain climbing. Brandt described her character as being harsh rather than womanlike or soft.

Hitler's failure to marry his acknowledged mistress until the last hours of his life has provoked much comment. The explanation, it seems, was political and it displays an unguessed anxiety on Hitler's part lest he lose even sexually-incited support public. Both Goering and Schirach who had parts in the decision against marriage agreed that it was based on the feeling that an unmarried Hitler had a greater appeal for German women folk than a married Fuehrer would have. Hitler, they said, agreed and the idea was apparently strongly shared by Goebbels who made the most of Hitler's bachelorhood in his propaganda "beautiful Adolf."

I am convinced that Hitler was not, overtly, a sexual pervert-- as so many biographers have hinted or charged outright. All the evidence I was able to obtain from his physicians and friends indicate that he did manifest less sexual energy than the average man, perhaps, and was even what is called a "latent homosexual type"--one with a deeply repressed homosexuality. He made a virtue of this buried sex drive, converting it into the energy that made it possible for him to work eighteen to twenty hours a day.

When I put the question of Hitler's sexual abnormality to Goering, I got, interestingly enough, the flattest of all denials, Goering snorted: "Hitler was just as normal in every way as any

normal man." The enlightening fact here is that Goering himself, of course, was a "normal" man of low sexuality.

Along with his superiority feelings, his megalomania, Hitler exhibited some very definite neurotic reactions. One already mentioned ^{was} his inability to accept the opinions of others, was according to Dr. Brandt, in time, "this be-right attitude was followed by an absolute wanting-to-be-right attitude." He came to hate people who knew more than he did, to tolerate those who knew as much and, often, to adore those who knew less.

Doubtless his early military and political successes furnished convincing--for him--evidence that he was and could only be right. When a failure occurred or a mistake was made it was, Adolf Hitler found it easy to believe, never his fault but always the fault of someone else. During his years as Fuehrer, Hitler became more and more possessed with this idea. It is a typical one in individuals who feel inner insecurity.

In social matters also, the prude Hitler gave evidence of this same feeling. He was extremely painstaking in his social manners because he felt the inadequacy of his early training. According to two of his secretaries, whenever he was to play the role of host, he nervously supervised and checked all preparations. When the event was over, he would frequently seek reassurance from his household or official staff that he had "given a good show." He was especially eager for praise for any performance on the ballroom floor. This reaction toward social adventures increased as time went on. Even after becoming the Fuehrer who could do no wrong, Hitler would mutter while planning some affair: "I'll show them I know as much as they do about such matters."

As a further example I was told how he had insulted the Italian King and court by stalking away from the supper table at a party given at the Castle of Naples. The explanation was that during the meal an argument or discussion arose as to types and purposes of various formal costumes. Hitler believed that the king and his court deliberately brought up the subject to show off Hitler's ignorance and embarrass him socially.

These feelings of inferiority can undoubtedly be traced back to the inadequacies of Hitler's early life and the frustrations of his years in Vienna. In overcompensation he developed a refusal to accept counsel or opinions from others. Another compensatory device was to surround himself with intelligent people and then astound them with his superior knowledge. So long as the device worked, Hitler would seem a calm conversationalist. But, if a discussion seemed to be getting away from him, he would become more and more outspoken and his voice would rise until he was shouting all other voices.

The rumor that he had occasional outbursts of rage is undoubtedly true, but the tales of such rages resulting in carpet-eating, tearing the curtains and so on have never been verified by any of his physicians or by his closest associates--and I questioned virtually everyone we could lay military-police hands on who might have known. Hitler would, however, brook no interruption at such a time; angry, he was a determined monologist.

Even in friendly "discussions," Hitler frequently held the floor endlessly and he did not relish any comment more constructive than "yes." Schirach, recalling the early days of his youth movement, told me of one day when he, Goering, Goebbels and several

others were discussing general problems with the Fuehrer and he had the temerity to introduce a suggestion. "Several of my older and more experienced colleagues tried to shush me," he said. "I did not know why then but later both Goebbels and Goering took me aside and explained why it would be better if I made these suggestions to one of them after the Fuehrer had finished talking and broken up the meeting."

In addition to his feelings of inadequacy, Hitler exhibited other signs of definite neurotic reactions. He suffered from a large number of phobias and compulsions. He had a marked fear of death and, because of it, had up to five physicians in constant attendance. He consistently refused to allow anyone to give him a comprehensive examination. He would never permit X-rays because he feared they might reveal an incurable cancer.

seldom
Hitler would ~~never~~ touch an animal unless he was wearing gloves. On those occasions when he caressed his dog without gloves he would immediately go and wash his hands many times. He was apparently fascinated by, but fearful of, horses. He surrounded himself with pictures and tapestries of the finest stallions but refused adamantly to do any actual riding.

His personal life, while extremely simple, indicates strong persistence of habits. He was extremely clean, bathed frequently and offered as his reason for being a vegetarian that eating meat made his perspiration--which poured off him during his speeches--to smell bad. He did not drink and gave up smoking during his student days in Vienna. In fact, he came to dislike tobacco so much that no smoking was permitted in his presence and he often commented on the disagreeable odor of those who had a taint of

tobacco smoke on their clothes.

His daily routines were strict and followed to the minutest degree. All his intimates agreed on this. Whenever he took a walk, it was--if feasible--always the very same walk he had taken before. If he took his dog across a field and threw a piece of wood for the dog to retrieve, the next day he would throw the piece from exactly the same spot and in the same direction. Each day the dog had to sit down at the same spot and wait until Hitler sent him to get the stick. That exact procedure would be repeated day after day until the animal finally would go through the routine without a word from his master.

At Berchtesgaden, Hitler had a small courtyard where he exercised, always taking precisely the same number of steps along the same path each time. Any attempt to persuade him to deviate from the pattern resulted in considerable agitation and anger on his part.

He was more than meticulous about his clothing and particularly his linen. If at any time he got a spot on his collar he would at once bathe and change all his clothing including his underwear. He avoided everything he could of a soiling nature, cleaning his teeth immediately after eating anything and washing his hands many times each day.

He paid a tremendous amount of attention to his own body. For twenty years he suffered from complaints of the gastro-intestinal tract, primarily stomach pains and gas. His digestion and digestive control played a most important part in his life and usually was the topic of long table conversations. Examinations never revealed any actual organic disease and it was the consensus of all his physicians that he suffered from a gastric neurosis.

In the course of time, tremendous amounts of medicine were tried, appraised and ultimately rejected. Hitler was constantly calling in new physicians and often had one or two in continuous attendance, almost always inviting them to meals so he could discuss the effect of this or that food on his stomach. Some of these physicians gave him amazing amounts of medicines and, in his last year or so, Hitler received constant injections at the rate of about every two hours or so. Whenever he would be given a new drug which he felt helped him, he would order great amounts of it stocked for his personal use and then proceed to take it regularly for days, weeks, months and even years, whether it was recommended to be so taken by the physician or not.

Whenever he went on a trip, he carried great quantities of medicines with him and, if any specific remedy was forgotten, it resulted in a minor affair of state. He was so frightened of being in an accident that usually Brandt, his surgery and first-aid specialist, was required to accompany him on all journeys with a completely equipped emergency surgical outfit.

During the last few years of his life, Hitler developed what Brandt describes as an actual addiction to medicines. While he never took any type of opiate or ^{other} narcotic, he certainly did rely on injections of glucose and vitamins which were given--at the end--sometimes hourly. Most of the medicines were stimulants, and it is quite possible that this constant overstimulation accounts for the small amount of sleep he needed.

Hitler was also profoundly suspicious of almost everyone and set up very elaborate systems of checking even on his closest associates. After the assassination attempt in 1944, he became even

more wary, refusing to see anyone but his most intimate friends and apparently fully trusting not even them.

According to all his physicians, he had an unswerving belief in ~~Providence~~ his fate. Schirach told me how the morning after the death of President Roosevelt, Hitler greeted him with gleaming countenance and pointed out that this was an act of Divine Providence for his special benefit. He was convinced that this Providence had called him to be the savior of his country and that it would support his decisions. There seems to be little reason for doubt that, until the very end, he honestly believed that he would succeed in his task because of divine backing.

Frank, in the manuscript quoted on page 00, says of this megalomania:

"What was Adolf Hitler? A statesman? But he formally stripped the State of its important essential institutions such as legal rights, a constitution, administration and, finally, destroyed the Reich with regard to its foreign policy and by war. Was he a Party man? But he systematically undermined his own Party program, devalued its ideas and made

the party organization a tool ^{for the} political workings
of his own group. Was he an artist,[?] but he suppress-
ed and hindered the work of the only true creator
of any art, the free creative personality. One can
ask without ending, ^{what Adolf Hitler was,} and ~~then~~ can only say "no", ^{he was not that,} be-
cause he was constantly destroying whatever he had
set ~~out~~. ^{up} What then was he? He was Adolf Hitler,
an original, unique thing without equal; a flaming
giant, a storm of fire, a gigantic being of destruc-
tive origins; he was the greatest destructive
phenomena of all times; the active incarnation of
the death of Europe who in the mammoth shape of a
Desar made and enforced his own laws. ^{ic} He was
absolutely and totally ego-centr~~alized~~; a world for
himself; a man who did not recognize any decisions
whether they be made ahead of him or behind him,
around him or above him. He used everything, be
it people or work, only as a means for the purpose
of accomplishing his own ~~mean~~. ^{ends} He always spoke of
his aim to create a happy Reich for the Germans
and I do not doubt that this was the starting as
well as the final point in his plan, but he shows
presumptive blindness and intensive stupidity to
^{risk} ~~stake~~ the existence of the whole country in order
to accomplish his 'idea' or his 'mission'. ^{With}
him there was only one decisive factor - success

counts! He is more a power in the history of nature than that of mankind. He is something born during the time of giants and suddenly appearing in the world of the 20th century. He spoke the simple language of those times and his ideas and conceptions seem to date back to that epoch. ["] This explains several things: His viewpoints on history were primitive as can be seen from his ideas on race; the right of the stronger and the leadership idea as an absolute power of the chieftan. This also explains why he chose for his opponents the oldest powers in the world - Christianity and Jewery. Hitler was without any tradition, without form or pattern and anti-human, anti-traditional and anti-cultural. He ~~possessed~~^{was} complete^{ly} blindness towards everything that went on around him with a lack of feeling which resulted in actual hatred against an objective or realistic viewpoint. He had the qualities of iron, was hard and cruel and at the same time had the paralyzing quality of an overpowering power. He was thereby one of the most tragical figures which ever marched across the universal stage."

Frank's summary ^{makes} ~~portrays~~ the strength of Hitler's basic character, although it is plain that Frank himself still feels the influence of Hitler's personality. In

fact, the impact of Hitler's personality is still obvious in most of his henchmen. It is impossible to put one's finger exactly upon the reason for this profound effect, but most of his associates believe that the things which were most effective were his powers of speech which overwhelmed all opposition, his terrific energy and his ability to shift his personality rapidly and without apparent effort. This last technique enabled him to appear as a simple, friendly individual to one person and as a dominating, unyielding tyrant to another. He had an uncanny ability to estimate the effect of his personality upon an individual and invariably supplied that type of personality which would be most effective in ^{getting} securing his own way.

In discussing ^{Hitler} him with many individuals, ^{I soon learned} ~~it is~~ ^{that not only} ~~obvious that he~~ ^{he} had many faces ^{but} and that many of his followers were ~~apparently~~ ^{et of his} unaware of any but the facade ^{personality} which he had presented to them. He seemed to permit each individual to project upon him that type of personality which that individual most respected and admired. With Goering he was friendly, outspoken and blunt; with Doenitz he was simple, intellectual and quiet; with Schirach he was a dominating ^{senior executive} authority; and with Ribbentrop he was a father and a master.

^{I came to the conclusion that} In addition to these personality assets, Hitler's eyes, ⁷ which everyone speaks ~~of~~ as having an almost hypnotic effect, ~~are constantly mentioned, and finally, he was able~~

effect, were real personality assets. He had apparently learned the knack of actually staring down opposition. On women, of course, he lavished his "southern" charm and friendliness and the general run of men he impressed with his "knowledge"--that is, by a spectacular display of superficial information and by memory feats which they interpreted as true education and brilliance.

Almost every person I talked to emphasized Hitler's modest private life. Though he could, obviously, have chosen ^{any} surroundings, he limited himself primarily to simple things. His ability to go long periods without eating, possibly a hangover from his starvation days in Vienna, used to give his employees frequent stomach aches. When he did eat, it was usually with his adjutants and secretaries, and business continued right through the meal.

He liked to have all the people around him and immediately noticed whenever any official or employee was missing. This habit deprived all his office staff of free time, in particular the married men who saw almost nothing of their families. Hitler occasionally would think of this problem and would then invite the wives to a sort of family dinner.

Apparently Hitler's only personal luxury was beautiful, modern and extremely speedy automobiles. Although he did not drive, he was fond of riding and was quite interested in the actual mechanics of his cars. He also liked to collect art objects and paintings for his home, and this hobby became especially evident after he introduced the systematic plunder of occupied countries.

My inquiries convinced me that Hitler was quite loyal to those who had been with him in his early years, and he gave most of them positions as rewards of friendship. Apparently he overdid this

and frequently kept in positions of power persons who obviously did not have the requisite abilities. He was loyal also to those in his immediate official and household circles and, if anyone of them became ill, he would call in physicians and follow their progress frequently hour by hour. Those who were well, however, he often worked almost beyond their endurance. He himself usually worked by night, and this habit accounts for many of the momentous decisions which were released during the early morning hours.

Hitler's relationship to Goering was one of the closest, and Goering was one of the few Hitler's secretaries remember as being able to joke successfully with the Fuehrer. Goering was also by their testimony and his own the only member of the inner circle who actually dared to present contrary ideas. Keitel and von Ribbentrop were frequently spoken of by Hitler as the faithful executors of his commands. Bormann and Hess, who actually had the closest personal relationships with him, were apparently quite passive to his demands and ran his errands willy-nilly.

Hitler read a great deal and developed an ability to skim books and yet absorb their contents. His library of some 16,000 volumes was devoted mainly to technical books about war, biographies, architecture and painting, natural history and a fair proportion of ordinary cheap novels. He was a great admirer of the writings of Dietrich Eckhardt who was also one of his closest personal friends.

Hitler almost never listened to the radio, even to music. He had records made of Richard Wagner's operas and played these constantly in his quarters. His enthusiasm for Wagner's music remained high

throughout his life.

In painting, he had a preference for Machhardt, several of whose portraits he acquired. Hitler also encouraged many of the young contemporary painters and, while he felt that the moderns did not approach the abilities of the older painters, he wished talent to be encouraged.

During the years of Hitler's development he seemed to undergo some personality changes. In the early phases, when he was recruiting his party and leading the Munich Putsch, he was seemingly a friendly and much more humane type of individual. During the years 1933 to 1939, he became extremely energetic and businesslike but still maintained ^{friendly} ~~his~~ relationships with his associates. After the war began, he became increasingly suspicious and, following the attempt to kill him in 1944, he developed outright mental abnormalities.

Schirach described these three phases of Hitler's life for me as, first, "the human phase," second, "the superhuman phase"; third, the period in which concentration camps blossomed giving off the aroma of death over Germany and conquered Europe, "the inhuman phase."

In the last ten months of his life, Hitler did not trust even his most loyal aids. His secretary, Fraulein Wolf, gave it as her opinion that the assassination attempt "broke him up inside." Even though he still held himself erect and worked longer hours than ever before, she said he gave the impression of being a much older man than he really was. Although, following the period in which his left hand became steady while his right was unusable, the left hand became worse than before, he refused to rest more than a few hours

hours a day. His walk became uncertain and he obviously was failing physically.

Hitler's hysterical evaluation of the situation was that, since he had survived the assassin's bomb, Heaven meant him to go ahead with the work for which he had been chosen. This reaction accounts to a large degree for his absolute refusal to consider surrender, although his armies were beaten on all sides.

During this period the air attacks were being stepped up on all sides in frequency and force, but Hitler, according to Fraulein Wolf, apparently lost all interest in them. Whereas early in the war he had often visited bombed areas and spoken sympathetically to the bereaved families, bombing casualties did not seem to bother him any more. He did not worry about the German people and transferred his concern only to industry and military installations. He grew increasingly hard and his staff often heard statements such as, "Men who would master the general fate must become used to being hard, no matter how difficult this may be." In discussions he increasingly avoided themes unpleasant to him; and Goering and others told how he ignored the over-all damage to Germany by simply having the curtains of his car drawn whenever he drove through bombed sections.

After the Russians took East Prussia, Hitler's activity, already frantic, increased. He took frequent injections of stimulants and grape sugar, attended conference after conference and slept hardly at all. He finally worked himself into a suspicious lather--no doubt needled by the sly suggestions of Goebbels and Bormann (Hess' successor) and the only old Nazis with him at the end. Although Bormann was the workhorse type, it seems that even he

shared the all-consuming hunger for power that characterized his better-known colleagues whom he took this opportunity knife. At this time, when Hitler trusted no man out of sight, he wrote his final testament, ignoring or marking for death most of his old supporters and leaving only Goebbels and Bormann in positions of control.

Thus we see Adolf Hitler reaching the end of his tether, a neurotic, suspicious individual, unable to sleep, unable to accomplish anything to save even the last vestige of his vision, driven to despair and finally death by his own hand.

Perhaps one of the most intimate and clearest views of Hitler history will ever have is that given by Christa Schroeder, one of his personal secretaries. Fraulein Schroeder was a motherly, maiden female in her late forties. Of medium height, stocky, sloppy, non-Nordic in appearance, she had been with Hitler eight years and knew him well. Brilliant, an indefatigable worker, she readily told all she knew--or would admit to herself--about Hitler. To her, however, even when the evidence of his brutality became undeniable, he remained a hero. Her comments, consequently, though frank, are those of a person who refused to see anything but greatness in Adolf Hitler.

This is a summary of her characterization of her Fuehrer which she wrote for me:

"It is probably assumed that Hitler's secretaries had to do continuous jobs for him and thereby gained insight into his varied operations. This was not the case. I therefore consider it necessary to start out with an explanation of the sort of things that Hitler's secretaries were required to do.

"In the years before the war, they had their particular sphere of work in his private office, where only work of a general nature was done. Hitler received all important or secret letters.

(pick up pp 32 through 43 from original ms with ex)

[The male chief secretary and office manager]

contracts, etc., through Schaub, who kept them locked up after Hitler had acknowledged them. This refers to those that Hitler did not keep in his own private office, which his secretaries could enter only occasionally, and then only in Hitler's presence. Hitler's habit was to use his secretaries only for single dictations, which never made it possible for them to get a complete picture of either the plan or the success of an enterprise.

" These tactics were consistent with Hitler's principle never to let anyone know anything that he did not absolutely have to know. Those whom it was absolutely necessary to let in on something, he informed only when the time made it immediately necessary.

" For example, there was always great secrecy concerning the destination and reason for ~~A~~^{any} trip.

The trip to the main headquarters at the beginning ^[against Belgium and France] of the operations in the West occurred in the follow-

ing manner: " Those persons chosen to accompany him were made to understand that a trip was scheduled for that evening. Purpose, destination and duration were not disclosed. Those concerned were driven out of Berlin by auto to a small unknown railroad station and boarded Hitler's private train, which was ~~going~~^{headed} in a northerly direction.

"A guessing game started which was diverted into false channels by the ~~question of the informed~~ ^{who asked} military adjutant if everyone had swimming suits, and ~~through~~ ^{by} Hitler's remark that there would be an opportunity to bring home a sealskin as a trophy. It was generally assumed that the trip was to Norway. The train kept to a northerly direction until shortly beyond Hannover, and then it turned toward the west. At the station that we reached early at dawn and in the vicinities that we passed thereafter by auto, all name plates were carefully removed. " Not until we had reached the camp in the Eifel and were standing in front of Hitler's barracks listening to cannon fire in the vicinity, he said to those around him, "this morning the offensive against the western powers has begun."

"This example was not one that stood out particularly from other happenings, since all things occurred in a similarly secret manner. This was probably due to the fact that Hitler did not trust anyone completely and fully. I had the impression that Hitler trusted the individual person only to a strictly limited extent, as much as was necessary for the moment and the task at hand. This general mistrust of Hitler's spread to his whole staff and created a generally depressed atmosphere.

"Until the year, 1937-38, I had little opportunity to learn anything about Hitler's personality. I saw him briefly in the morning when he came to the office. After the end of the conferences he sometimes stopped in my room for a few minutes to look at presents which came for him daily and which were laid out there. He was friendly to me on these occasions and sometimes exchanged a few words with me, which rarely went beyond questions concerning my well-being, ~~however~~ In cases of sickness, he was particularly considerate. He sent presents, and one time when I was in the hospital for several months, he came to see me himself and told the doctor that anything that was necessary must be done. This consideration of Hitler's resulted from a need he had to hold on to an individual person to whom he had become accustomed. He was always particularly friendly to those people whom he needed at the moment. He always conversed with me in a particularly nice way before and after a long dictation as if he knew how strenuous it was to write for him.

" He usually dictated speeches and long compositions only at night. He often said that the best thoughts and ideas came to him then. For the same reason, he always went to bed a couple of hours after midnight. The hour of retirement was continually postponed during the course of the last few years.

In the last month of his life he went to bed at about eight o'clock in the morning. He never slept for more than four or five hours.

" He always postponed long dictations until the last minute. In the case of Reichstag speeches that had already been announced, he had to be continuously reminded to start with the dictation. He usually replied that he had to await some political development or other in order to base his speech on the outcome. [" When he had received the awaited information, he usually went into his room, considered the construction of the speech and noted down some of the main points. After this he usually started to dictate immediately. He usually dictated directly into the machine for two reasons: In the first place, he liked to have what he had already stated continuously before his eyes, and in the second place, he enjoyed the continuous merry clattering of the machine. [" When he had once gotten into the swing of things, he dictated in a fast, ^{almost} ~~mostly~~ a racing, tempo. Sometimes he worked himself into an excitement that was positively fearful. This was particularly the case in those speeches which contained attacks against Churchill, Roosevelt or Bolshevism. At that time his voice swelled to its loudest, he gesticulated with his hands, and his flushed face showed an expression so angry as if the enemy in question stood

directly before him. ¹¹ He also was in the habit of standing still during these angry remarks, whereas he otherwise always walked up and down while speaking. Sometimes he walked rapidly, sometimes more slowly. When he was excited, he spoke so loud that one was able to hear his voice through double doors and several rooms away.

"He let the manuscript lie until the next morning, and then started the corrections, which never seemed to end. He used to correct each one of his speeches three or four times. After each time it had to be written anew. His corrections consisted primarily of substituting a new, more appropriate, word for one of the concepts. ¹² Even after he had stated that a speech was satisfactory, he continued busying himself with it until his departure for the Reichstag and read various ¹³ parts of it aloud to himself. Whereas he was often monosyllabic and seemingly far away in the days preceding the dictation, he appeared much friendlier and more loosened up afterwards.

"After 1938 he got into the habit of inviting his secretaries to meals or tea, and into his dining car on trips after, for instance, a long dictation. In the circle invited were included primarily the men of his staff and any guests that happened to be

traveling with him. During ~~his~~ ⁵ stay at the Berghof, which often lasted several weeks, he also took his meals regularly ~~together~~ with his staff and the guests, and also desired guests to attend his afternoon and evening teas. In spite of the fact that he often said that each man should have his own personal freedom, he was extremely displeased when anyone dared to remain away from these get-togethers. Even during the war he continued with his habitual afternoon and evening teas. [At the beginning of the war, he took his meals in the headquarters dining room in the company of the general staff officers. He discontinued this suddenly in the year 1941, because several generals had disagreed with him during meal time. He was of the opinion that the generals forgot the limits of respect because of the common meals, and from then on he ate by himself. When this became too boring for him, he sometimes invited a guest who happened to be at the headquarters. After a while, ~~he stopped this practice, complaining that they~~ ^{however, he was sorry, because these} guests would always carry on official conversations while eating, so he discontinued these invitations. (The way I heard it from the guests ^(however) ~~was that~~ it was Hitler himself who always started talking about official things. After 1944 he started eating ~~together~~ with his secretaries, which he continued doing until his death.

They were told never to talk about any official or unpleasant things, which they never did, ~~with the~~ exception of those ~~times~~ when Hitler came to the table angry and, forgetting his own prohibition, bared his soul.

"Hitler was modest in his own way of living. He was a vegetarian through conviction. He regarded alcohol and nicotine as destructive substances. He liked to frequently hold long complete lectures concerning their destructive nature. His clothing was also simple without any decorations.

"No matter in what company Hitler was, or what the subject was, it was always necessary for him to do all the talking. I often had the feeling that it made no difference to whom he was speaking, and that the only thing of importance was to have listeners. He touched many areas of thinking in his talks, but they concerned primarily himself, his goals and ideas. It sometimes happened that he would touch the same theme several times within a few days. ¹⁵ He attributed great significance to the ¹⁵ talking about himself. He sometimes explained that things about which he had been in the dark previously often became clear to him while talking about them. He also mentioned that the German language, with its many specialized expressions for concepts, was particularly suitable for building bridges into unexplored territories.

"Hitler's truly phenomenal memory was remarkable. He often surprised experts with exact technical facts which they themselves had momentarily forgotten. He knew all about German and other types of ships, and remembered exactly when they left their port and what their tonnage and load was. He remembered where and when he had seen any given man last years ago, and what they had talked about. He knew the plans of almost all the important edifices in the world by heart, and remembered happenings of his childhood just as well as happenings during the first World War or occurrences during combat. ^{He} He had the faculty of immediately comprehending everything he read and retaining it forever. Whenever there was a question, as for example, concerning the length of a bridge, Hitler always turned out to be right whenever the encyclopedia was brought out as umpire. No wonder that no one ever dared to have a different view and that he considered himself infallible in every way. This lent an extremely convincing air to his speeches. He never spoke as one doubting the results. He saw only the goal, clear and glittering, and skipped all obstructions in his enthusiasm. For this reason, his convictions, often brought forth in a classically simple manner, were indelibly imprinted upon the minds of others.

" After several of his actions had succeeded in spite of the prophesies of others, his feeling of his own invincibility rose to an extreme. It came to the point where he no longer allowed any argument. His iron will, which had allowed him to hold on to a given goal or conclusion, even in previous years, assumed more and more the form of obstinacy. If anyone expressed any doubt, he was accused of narrow-mindedness. And, by giving some examples of where he had been right, Hitler was able to convince people in spite of their doubts.

" Hitler understood well how to make the people have confidence in him. That this was possible was probably due in part to the fact that he himself was deeply convinced of having been chosen to fulfill his mission. At any rate, he himself often said this, and stated that he saw the evidence for it in the fact that he had never been injured in spite of all the planned assassinations, as, for instance, the one of the 20th of July, 1944, where he, through a miracle, escaped with only minor injuries. In spite of the fact that he otherwise denied all things that were beyond the earthly sphere, he admitted the ruling of a supernatural power in this case, which resulted in the idea of a man chosen by God actually being associated with his person. [" This was never openly mentioned, but I believe that Hitler was aware

of what power this conception of his person had, and that he was therefore interested in avoiding anything which could besmirch his halo. On the contrary, he confirmed this conception by expressions concerning his "infallible feeling" which allowed him to leave something undone or do it at the proper moment. He also spoke of "premonitions of evil". As a matter of fact, he already had a bad feeling at the beginning of July, 1944. He gave Eva Braun directions in bidding her good-bye at the Berghof as to what she should do in the case of his death. He told me on the 12th of July, 1944, during lunch that he had had a very bad feeling. He said that nothing must be allowed to happen to him now, because he did not have any successor.

"In all the conversations that Hitler held in our presence, he always emphasized that all his dealings were dictated by the desire to make a better future possible for the German people. He never spoke about concentration camp matters nor actions concerning Jews. He behaved toward us exactly in such a way as if these things did not exist. When he sometimes talked about the fact that war was necessary, and that during natural catastrophes millions of human lives must be destroyed, but that life afterwards would run on just as before, his face often

had a cold, determined expression. The absolute cruelty one would gather from this way of talking was softened somewhat by the real feeling of consideration he expressed when listening to the misfortune of an individual person. ~~Since~~ ^{by saying} he ~~had~~ once answered ~~be~~ the question as to why he had not followed the English after the defeat at Dunkirk, "Because I wanted to save human lives", I ~~do~~ ^{do} not doubt that he suffered very much during the development of the air war, which called for innumerable sacrifices. His obstinate will, however, did not allow ~~of~~ changing ~~of~~ the course once it was ~~started~~ ^{set}.

" His strong will, to which everything had to bend, did not exclude himself. He was hard with himself and continually exhausted himself mentally. He did not consider that the mind needs a certain amount of rest in order to be refreshed. As his mental and physical strengths waned, he took no heed, but started using artificial means, being convinced that with these, together with his iron will, anything was possible.

" In 1945 his physical decline became more and more obvious. His left hand trembled more and continuously. He always pulled the right leg after him a little when he walked. The trembling of the hand was obviously painful, because he always tried to hide it with his right. When he wanted to lie

down on the sofa during tea, he had to have a servant put his legs up for him because he was not capable of doing it himself any more. He was unable to see very much with the right eye and practically nothing with the left. The mental decline could no longer be hidden either. His conversations had shrunk to a frightening plane.

"As I saw Hitler for the last time on the night of the 20th-21st of April, he presented the picture of a completely broken man who could not see a way out any more."

In summary, from a medical viewpoint, ⁹we would diagnose Adolf Hitler as an individual who in early life suffered from marked frustration and as a result, throughout the remainder of his career, suffered definite feelings of inferiority. In order to overcome these feelings, he developed an over-compensation which finally culminated in actual belief in his own superiority and Divine mission on earth. ⁹He would ~~be classified~~ ^{as being} as a psychoneurotic of the obsessive and hysterical type, ^{whose} ~~and these~~ obsessive and compulsive patterns, driving along lines of hyper-compensation, forced him into situations from which he could not withdraw, ~~and~~ ^{the} development of these situations resulted in the war. ⁹In addition, *I would say* he had definite hysterical symptoms as manifested by his stomach complaints, his outbursts of anger and his hysterical paralysis of his left side. ⁹Basically he showed paranoid or persecution patterns, manifested by his marked suspiciousness, his feelings, both for himself and for Germany, that

every nation and people was persecuting him. Other evidence of his paranoid and persecution patterns was his projection on to others of the blame for anything untoward that happened in the Third Reich.

In flatter terms, Hitler was an abnormal and a mentally ill individual, though it is obvious that his deviations were not of a nature which in the average individual would arouse the serious concern of others. He was able, by his drive, his intelligence, his ability in handling people, to reach a position where, in the end, his relatively mild pathological deviations could disrupt and almost destroy the entire civilized world.

##

PART EIGHT

~~SEE HERE, AMERICA!~~

In my study of the Nuremberg Nazis, it became apparent that their personalities and their reign of terror in Germany yield information which could well be adapted to our own problems. In Germany we found a businesslike machine set up to control 80 million persons and to assure unlimited personal power for those in charge. This political machine had been developed legally--even democratically. Once in power, however, it rolled like a juggernaut over the rights of the people.

Here in America we are very apt to say to ourselves, "We are much too civilized for such a situation to develop. We could not possibly regress to a point where a small group could seize total power. We Americans could not ever permit any few men so to control our lives that the life or death of the population was completely in their hands."

Are we, then, so very different from those people on whom totalitarianism has been painfully and brutally imposed? The answer is that, as far as I can determine, there is no real difference between the individual German and the individual American except for the German's more ardent belief in his ideologies. It is true that the German nation has a more homogeneous culture. It has had a common speech, a common philosophy, perhaps, for a much longer period than we have been a nation. Consequently, Germany would be more easily swayed by skillful propaganda. But, aside from our lack of homogeneity, and all that it implies in varying origins, a two-party system and legal "paper"

guarantees of minority rights, I am convinced that there is little in America today which could prevent the establishment of a Nazi-like state.

Such a statement, to you, may sound extravagant. You may say, "We do not have the leaders and neither do we have the basic ideologies and concepts which these would-be leaders could use."

Let us examine these denials.

As far as the leaders go, the Hitlers and the Goerings, the Goebbels and all the rest of them were not special types. Their personality patterns indicate that, while they are not socially desirable individuals, their like could very easily be found in America. Neurotic individuals like Adolf Hitler, suffering from hysterical disorders and obsessive complaints, can be found in any psychiatric clinic. And there are countless hundreds of similar ones, thwarted, discouraged, determined to do great deeds, roaming the streets of any American city at this very moment.

Strong, dominant, aggressive, ego-centric personalities like Goering, differing from the normal only in their lack of conscience, are not rare. They can be found anywhere in the country -- behind big desks deciding big affairs as businessmen, politicians, racketeers.

Shrewd, smooth, conscienceless speakers and writers like Goebbels, slick, big-time salesmen like Ribbentrop and all the financial and legalistic hangers-on can be counted among the men whose names we know by sight.

Political rabble rousers, the Streicher and Ley types, can be encountered at any political meeting and I am sure in our armed forces we could locate smooth, diplomatic political generals or

colonels who would be willing to string along with a party able to assure them rapid promotion to the top.

No indeed, the Nazi leaders were not spectacularly individual. They were not such personalities as appear only once in a century. They simply had three quite unremarkable characteristics in common--and the opportunity to seize power. The three characteristics were: overweening ambition, low ethical standards, a strongly developed nationalism which justified anything done in the name of Germanism.

Let us look about us. Have we no ultranationalists among us who would approve any policy, however evil, so long as it could be said to be of advantage to America? Have we no men so ruthlessly eager to achieve power that they would not quite willingly climb over the corpses of our minorities if by so doing they could gain totalitarian control over the rest of us?

So much for the leaders of a potential American Nazism. What of the followers? Shocking as it may seem to some of us, we as a people greatly resemble the Germans of two decades ago. We have a very similar background of ideological concepts and we are similarly inclined to base our thinking on emotional rather than intellectual evaluations. And no one can deny that the basic appeals that Hitler used--demanding minority persecution, demanding development of a stronger nation, demanding that veterans take over the government, demanding ^{government control} ~~socialist~~ of private business--all are present in the United States today.

It is a deeply disturbing experience to return from Nuremberg to America and find here the same racial prejudices as the Nazis preached being roused here in the same words that rang through the

corridors of Nuremberg Jail.

As has been pointed out, Rosenberg and Hitler did not originate Germany's racial prejudices. They have existed in all countries and, in one form or another, for all recorded time. They persist, with special variation, in America today. Let me quote:

"America has a two-fold problem in that it not only has an intellectual Jewish minority, but it also possesses a large mass of human strength among its Negroes. If these two minorities get together, a revolution will take place, which may result in the Nordic group being completely overwhelmed."

Does that sound ridiculous? Perhaps it should because its source is that font of so much frantic nonsense, Alfred Rosenberg. But we who would be intelligently aware of our problems dare not lightly dismiss such prophecies because the attitude which inspired them did not breathe its last when Rosenberg and his ten companions died. We can find the same ideas thinly veiled in our public press today.

Even worse, we find some of our highest political servants, members of our Congress, making statements which would do credit to Rosenberg, Hitler or Goebbels. And we must not forget what happened to millions when the ludicrous Rosenberg had an opportunity to put into action the racial theories with which he had been long poisoning himself.

Many people will say that this is a country of free speech and of free thought. After all, the American racists are just talking or writing, and anyone in America has a right to talk or write as he pleases. That is quite true. But, at the start, Hitler and Streicher and Ley and Rosenberg were just talking also.

Interestingly enough, von Schirach, Frick, Speer and others of the less ardent Nazis all said: "It does not seem possible that this could have really happened. Back when the Party was being formed, we used to listen to these speeches. Just speeches. Not one of us expected anything more from them than simple stimulation of the crowds. No one of us felt that any human being would ever lose his life because of these speeches. We thought we were listening to political propaganda. We made the same sort of speeches. We never knew it would go so far."

The power of the spoken word has been emphasized over and over. As a matter of fact, human beings in their present state of development are more moved by words than by reason. What can we do to guard ourselves against the tyranny of words? As a physician, I do not profess to know. I merely cite the danger and raise the question:

If in this country we can legally prevent assault and battery of the physical type, why should we not have some legislative procedure prohibiting emotional assault and battery?

If we decree that one individual cannot attack and take away another's property or life, why should we not have laws prohibiting anyone from taking away another's concepts and ideals?

Why should we not have a ban on the vicious use of the myths of blood and race?

If revolution by force of arms is illegal, what of revolution by force of emotions?

M. F. Ashley Montague in his recent book, Man's Most Dangerous Myth: the fallacy of race, discusses the racial problem in a most intelligent and entertaining fashion. His chapter on race and

blood should be studied in every school and read by every American. Montague points out how widely accepted is the fallacy of blood differences and he emphasizes the use of this myth for political purposes.

Last summer after the end of the war, in one of our most populous states a cheap and dangerous politician utilized racism and the concept of white supremacy as the major feature of his congressional campaign; another employed them in his successful effort to recapture a governorship. In both cases it was a coldly calculated technique for political gain. There is absolutely no difference between the methods of these men and those of Streicher or Hitler.

Again, in some other states, returning Japanese war veterans, American military heroes who had been deprived of their homes early in the war as a defense measure, were held up to ridicule, were discriminated against, even shot at. The mobs which attack them are incited by a few unscrupulous individuals who had benefited by forced removal of the Japanese.

Any analysis of the motives for the political use of racial myths anywhere invariably reveals that those who employ them do it in the same fashion as did Hitler and his cohorts. They use racism as a method of obtaining personal power, political aggrandizement or individual wealth. I am convinced that the continued use of these myths in this country will lead us to join the Nazi criminals in the sewer of civilization.

Despite the lesson of history, the ideologies of the Nazis are alive in the United States today. They pass from parent to child, from teacher to student, from author to reader. By so much as

insert page precede para "But, you may argue,..."

Observe an extension technique which Hitler employed in January, 1933, which was decisive in his rise to power;

At that time, there were local elections in one of the smallest German states, Lippe-Detmold. Ordinarily, nobody outside Liepp would have been vitally interested in this election. But Hitler decided to make it a test case. All the most brilliant and tireless speakers and agitators of the Party invaded that tiny state. Hitler spoke three or four times a day, even in the smallest villages and to audiences of not more than 50. So did the others. The susceptible population of Lippe-Detmold was swept away by all the attention, the freely given promises, the emotional appeals. As a result, National Socialism scored a landslide victory.

Then Goebbels went to work. In arguments reminiscent of, "As Maine goes--" the Party press heralded the election as symptomatic of the will of the entire German nation. The government was impressed; von Papen brought pressure in high places; he talked with Schleicher who resigned the chancellorship, and Hitler was appointed Chancellor of the Reich on Jan. 30, 1933.

we nurture these and similar indigenous racial attitudes, we risk development here of a totalitarian state.

This danger is obviously not immediate. We are such a vast country, made up of so many different types of populations, with so many different specific attitudes and interests. This heterogeneity of structure is our present salvation, but smaller areas can be, and already have been, developed into typical Nazi-Fascist centers. The power politics of Huey Long, who enforced his opinions by police control, duplicate Hitler's technique. Hitler's success in seizing first a small area and making it firmly totalitarian must not be forgotten. From a center of strength in Bavaria, he extended his control over all Germany. From a similar center of strength in any single state of this country a similar extension could be predicted. *such*

But, you may argue, "This is a democracy *and, in a democracy* every individual should be able to vote. *(without a chancellor ship)* ~~In a democracy~~, it should be easy to spot the budding dictator and defeat him at the polls legally and democratically before he gains power."

Theoretically, this is true. But we must never forget that Hitler was elected by democratic methods in a democratic system, which we ourselves helped to set up, patterned after our own system. He was elected in a democratic way because of the failure of German democratic forces to prevent his election, because of the fundamental apathy and lack of interest of the democratic forces.

Such apathy and disinterest *are* ~~is~~ not unknown in the United States, and it has been made painfully obvious in many elections that a small minority, functioning as an active unit, can and does win elections that determine the fate of an apathetic,

lethargic, nonvoting majority.

Here, then, lies the method for the prevention of a totalitarian state. Machinery for a democracy has been set up and, if it does not function, it is solely the fault of the members of that democracy. Too many of the people of the United States are content to accept the prerogatives endowed on them by the Constitution without ever bothering to accept the duties imposed on them by it. Our primary duty is to vote and, if we are to insure ourselves against totalitarianism, we must first of all remove all voting restrictions from all our citizens. It is time to make the ballot really free, to eradicate the poll tax and the restrictions on Indian voting.

Second, at every election every individual citizen eligible to vote must cast his ballot. The larger the vote, the more difficult it is for a machine-guided minority to control elections.

Third, we must refuse to vote for anyone who makes political capital out of such emotion-laden terms as "Jew" or "Gentile," "Protestant" or "Catholic," "White" or "Negro." And we must undertake to free ourselves from the yoke of tradition and from the emotional use of those same terms and others in the same category: "Oriental" and "blood" and "race," etc.

Finally, we must reform our system of education to teach students to think. We may even have to rebuild our language habits, eliminating those generalities which actually mean nothing, but which produce in unthinking persons strong emotional reactions.

If we carry out these four steps--simple to outline but extremely difficult to take--we shall have established a functional political democracy by giving every citizen the rights inherent

in such a democracy.

The United States will never reach its full stature until we achieve that goal.

Actually, of course, we shall never reach that goal until we as a people individually develop beyond our present emotional adolescence. We cannot have a mature nation of infantile citizens. As a psychiatrist in the Army, I became convinced that the country which had produced so many millions of infantile young men was itself emotionally immature. Far too few of our soldiers, or their officers, were mature; a frighteningly high percentage had an emotional-intellectual age of about ten years. One can say, with reason, that the Germans were a neurotic people. We are not that but we are--like Hess--walking the curbstons like a tightrope.

We can only achieve national maturity through the development of each individual to a true adult status. When such maturity is reached, each individual will then be competent within himself to evaluate properly the mouthings of our propagandists. Until then to tal voting and an attempt at proper evaluation of the candidate is the only answer. This answer depends on the citizens of the United States--every single one of us.

It is up to us to determine whether to foster racial hatreds and prejudices. It is up to us whether we learn from the holocaust of Europe and apply what we learn to our own lives. It is up to us to develop a true^{ly} democratic nation where we and our children can live without bickering, without hatreds, emotionally secure because we have become an emotionally mature nation.